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Daily Report

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Hungary's Horn Greets OSCE Ministerial Council

LD0712121295 Budapest Kossuth Radio Network in Hungarian 0900 GMT 7 Dec 95

[FBIS Translated Text] The ministerial council session of the OSCE [Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe], which will last one and a half days, started its work in Budapest's Congress Center this morning. Istvan Kulcsar reports:

[Kulcsar] Hungarian Foreign Minister Laszlo Kovacs, OSCE chairman in office until the end of this year, opened the meeting of 53 European, Northern American, and Central Asian foreign ministers with the usual 12-minute delay. On behalf of the host country, Hungarian Prime Minister Gyula Horn welcomed the meeting. The conference is being followed with great foreign interest. All major international news agencies and television stations are present.

In his five-minute address, Gyula Horn pointed out that the OSCE is the most comprehensive security structure and also has the means for handling and preventing crises. In the near future, the organization will have a particularly important role in the political settlement of the Bosnian crisis.

The prime minister considers successful the first year of the European security and cooperation process, which turned into an organization in December, 1994. He wished a lot of success for its work in the future, too, when the chairman in office will not be from Hungary, but the country will, within its limits, remain an active participant of the organization.

Slovakia Offers Forces, Unsure of Resources

LD0612221895 Bratislava STV 1 Television Network in Slovak 1830 GMT 6 Dec 95

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] The North Atlantic Cooperation Council was in session today at NATO headquarters in Brussels. The foreign ministers of the 16 NATO member states and 26 countries of the former Eastern Bloc, who are all members of the council, discussed current issues of cooperation between the alliance and partner countries. The Slovak delegation was led by Foreign Minister Juraj Schenk. [passage omitted]

[Unidentified correspondent] Today's North Atlantic Cooperation Council meeting was opened by Sergio Balanzino, the acting secretary general of the alliance. He said the purpose of today's session was to achieve lasting peace throughout the entire euro-atlantic region. The main subjects of discussion were questions related to the deployment of [NATO-led international] I-For troops in the former Yugoslavia as well as the current state of and future prospects for the Partnership for Peace program. As well as the 16 alliance member states, 15 partner states are to participate in the peacekeeping operation. In connection with this, Slovak Foreign Minister Schenk said that Slovakia welcomed the results of the Dayton agreement and added:

[Begin Schenk recording] As far as Slovakia is concerned, it has offered its forces. A definitive decision has not yet been made on this matter because there are a number of other details to be sorted out, on which this question will depend, including the financing, the extent to which we will be able to afford to participate, as well as the territory on which this participation would take place and in cooperation with whom. That is a problem that is being worked on very intensively. The question of an agreement on the transit of NATO troops over the territory of the Slovak Republic is also being worked on very intensively. [end recording] [passage omitted]

Commission Gives 'Positive Stand' on U.S. Flights

AU0612181595 Sofia Khorizont Radio Network in Bulgarian 1700 GMT 6 Dec 95

[FBIS Translated Text] The National Assembly Commission on National Security has issued a positive stand on the draft decision of the National Assembly to allow the flight of six F-16 U.S. aircraft over Bulgarian territory on 11 December.

The draft decision must be passed by the National Assembly on 7 December.

The deputies pointed out that in similar cases in the future the Council of Ministers must provide more detailed information on the flights' mission.

Zhelev Visits NATO's Naples Headquarters

AU0612191495 Sofia Khorizont Radio Network in Bulgarian 1700 GMT 6 Dec 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Our special correspondent Silviya Velichkova has a report from Naples on a meeting that President Zhelev had today:

[Begin recording] The process of NATO expansion will be long, Admiral Smith, commander of NATO Allied Forces for South Europe, said at the meeting with President Zhelev in Naples.

For Bulgaria, NATO is not merely a defense alliance but a political guarantee of European security, President Zhelev said.

The situation in Bosnia-Herzegovina under conditions of the Dayton agreement was another subject discussed at the meeting. Bulgaria's behavior during the Yugoslav crisis and attitude toward the Dayton agreement received high praise from Admiral Smith. [end recording]

Yorukov Meets FRY's Zebic To Discuss Cooperation

AU0512210295 Sofia Khorizont Radio Network in Bulgarian 1600 GMT 5 Dec 95

[FBIS Translated Text] On 5 December Jovan Zebic, Yugoslavia's deputy prime minister and minister of finance, received Georgi Yorukov, Bulgarian charge d'affaires in Yugoslavia [Federal Republic of Yugoslavia—FRY].

Mutual interest in developing and strengthening cooperation was expressed during the talks. The forthcoming visit to Yugoslavia of the Bulgarian Government trade delegation led by Kiril Tsochev was also discussed.

Slovakia's Meciar Arrives, Meets With Videnov

AU0712171695 Sofia Khorizont Radio Network in Bulgarian 1600 GMT 7 Dec 95

[FBIS Translated Text] On 7 December, Slovak Prime Minister Vladimir Meciar arrived in Bulgaria on an official visit. He was accompanied by economic ministers and a large group of businessmen.

At Sofia Airport, Bulgarian Prime Minister Zhan Videnov said: We will be discussing bilateral relations in the economic, political, and cultural spheres, as well as issues of cooperation in central and east Europe and European integration.

Mr. Videnov expressed his confidence in the usefulness of this first visit of a Slovak governmental delegation.

Speaking about the forthcoming talks, Meciar stressed cooperation within the framework of CEFTA and issues of European and euro-atlantic integration.

A few moments ago at the Boyana residence, a private meeting between Zhan Videnov and Vladimir Meciar began.

Ship With Nuclear Fuel Arrives at Kozloduy Port

AU0612181695 Sofia Khorizont Radio Network in Bulgarian 1700 GMT 6 Dec 95

[FBIS Translated Text] The ship, the Nikola Vaptsarov, which was detained by the Romanian authorities on 30 November, has arrived at Kozloduy. The ship is transporting nuclear fuel for the 440-megawatt third reactor of the Kozloduy nuclear power station, which has to be refueled.

The fuel has been transported in 160 secure containers in the form of cassettes, which contain 3-percent enriched uranium 238 and 235.

All safety requirements have been observed during the unloading and storing. This report has been provided by the Press Center of the Kozloduy nuclear power station.

Russian Envoy Offers Aid for Sofia Projects

AU0612203595 Sofia Khorizont Radio Network in Bulgarian 1800 GMT 6 Dec 95

[FBIS Translated Text] At a meeting today between Sofia Mayor Stefan Sofiyanski and Russian Ambassador Aleksandr Avdeyev, it was expressed by both that relations between Bulgaria and Russia should not be politicized but based on the two countries' common interests.

Ambassador Avdeyev said that Russia is prepared to offer technical assistance in completing Sofia's subway and the construction of purifying stations for drinking water.

Zhelev 'Unlikely' to 'Unite' SDS for 2d Term

AU0612155095 Sofia DUMA in Bulgarian 2 Dec 95 p 7

[Commentary by Milena Nikolova: "Despite Zhelev's Pipe Dreams, the SDS Will Fight the Elections Alone"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Following the last meeting of the SDS [Union of Democratic Forces] National Coordinating Council, President Zhelev proved that his name may lead to a split between the different wings of the SDS coalition. For more than a week now, his candidature on behalf of the SDS has stood alongside other alternatives proposed at 134 Rakovski Street [SDS headquarters]. Ivan Kostov declared that he expects the present head of state to decline to run in the next presidential elections, but the Office of the Presidency has not hurried in issuing its final reply. By force of logic, Zhelev evidently regards himself as a unifying figure for the entire opposition. However, people in SDS circles know that it would be difficult for them to choose the ex-dissident again as their candidate. With the Polish elections in mind, the SDS leadership quickly came out with a statement that the time of the dissidents is over in Bulgaria and that they do not want a second fiasco of the "Walesa" type. In our country, everything is possible, including that the DPS [Rights and Freedoms Movement] and the People's Union should support President Zhelev for a second term.

At the moment, the SDS is evidently pondering over a number of candidates for the high post. Yordan Sokolov's name was used to evade the subject of choosing a possible realistic candidate to represent the blue [SDS] coalition. The possibility of having a president from the SDS and a vice president from the People's Union has been wasted, in view of the two organizations' fruitless negotiations before the first round of the Sofia mayoral elections. The People's Union will want to prove again that it can rely on an electorate that is distinct from that of the BSP [Bulgarian Socialist Party] and the SDS, while the SDS will stick to its hard positions and old memories. There is also the possibility of Ivan Kostov running for the presidency and then implementing SDS policies from this position of honor. It is as yet unclear whether Filip Dimitrov might declare his readiness to serve as head of the nation as well as the SDS strategist. The other possible candidatures have not yet clearly emerged and are still under discussion. However, one thing is clear: Zhelev is unlikely to be able to unite the Bulgarian opposition. He is more likely to further distance the more moderate wing in the SDS from the hardliners. The situation is unlikely to lead to expulsions from the coalition, but the SDS will most likely fight the elections alone, having finally shattered the idea of a united opposition.

Official Justifies Not Convening Kurdzhali Council

AU0612125595 Sofia NOVINI PLYUS in Bulgarian No. 35 1-8 Dec 95 p 9

[Statement by Khaskovo Oblast Administrator Angel Naydenov: "I Advised Rasim Musa To Await the Court's Ruling"]

[FBIS Translated Text] I would like to clear up one matter, since the allegation has appeared in the press that I refused to appoint the mayor of Kurdzhali [Rasim Musa]. I am not empowered to sign an order dismissing or appointing any mayor. The mayor's powers arise from the election itself, and they come into being immediately after the Central Electoral Commission announced the results.

As regards convening the municipal council, under the Local Self-Government Act an order to this effect must be issued within 14 days. In the specific case of Kurdzhali, I believe that in view of the complaints that have been lodged regarding both the results of the municipal elections and the decision of the mayoral electoral commission, one should wait until the court issues its ruling.

The issue is being decided under Article 37, Paragraph 3, of the Law on Administration Procedures. For this very reason, I advised Rasim Musa, who was elected mayor in accordance with the decision of the municipal electoral commission, that he should refrain from issuing orders or adopting administrative decisions. Referring to the normative documents currently in force, I reached the view that these functions can be carried out by the present deputy mayor Yashar Shaban.

In my opinion, any hints concerning tension developing in the public sector or of other problems arising from the fact that the newly elected mayor is not exercising his powers to the full extent are devoid of any foundation.

President Examines Country's Role in Europe

MS0712093995 London THE EUROPEAN in English 7-13 Dec 95 p 8

[Report incorporating interview with Vaclav Havel Czech president, by Jeff Lovitt; date not given: "Havel Has No Time To Look Back"]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Prague—November was a month of anniversaries for Vaclav Havel. On 17 November 1989, the emergence of Civic Forum under his leadership brought on to the streets a wave of opposition to the hardline communist government. Within a week, the government had resigned. A month later, by popular demand, Havel was installed in Prague Castle as the first non-communist president of Czechoslovakia.

The dissident writer-turned-president has also had the pleasure of seeing one of his old plays resurrected and performed.

On 1 November 1975 his Beggars' Opera, a pointed tale of Machiavellian intrigue, was given its premiere in defiance of the communist secret police at a pub in a Prague suburb. After a 20-year interlude, it is now being staged once more, in more illustrious surroundings, at Prague's Na Zabradli theatre.

But while November may have given him cause to briefly remember old struggles, the pressing problems of political transition in eastern Europe do not leave much time for looking back.

The recent election of Aleksander Kwasniewski as president of Poland was just the latest sign of a revival in the political fortunes of the former communists in the east.

Hungary, Bulgaria and Romania have all experienced the same backlash against the rigours of an embryonic market economy. But the defeat of Lech Walesa as abrasive as Havel was cultured in his rejection of the old dictatorships, must have come as a shock.

Nevertheless, Havel is optimistic that, former communists or not, the bad times cannot now return.

"I do not see the phenomenon that we call postcommunist parties winning in certain countries as a beginning of the return to communism. These parties are transforming step-by-step into social democratic parties of the western variety, and I would like to believe that they will go on with this transformation and will not represent a threat to democracy.

"I don't consider Kwasniewski's election a tragedy or a threat to the orientation of Poland. He has not promised any return to the past, although obviously we will have to see how he acts in office."

Had Kwasniewski failed to restate Poland's commitment to joining Nato, perhaps Havel would have been less relaxed. The eastwards expansion of the defence alliance is, in his view, a vital next step in transition. Havel envisages Nato as an instrument to spread stability, rather than as a body that will expand only after stability has arrived of its own accord. As for Russia's objections to the alliance's expansion to its borders Havel pays them little mind.

"If we continue to look at the border of Nato from the point of view of the former east-west division of Europe, it might seem to someone as a dividing line, or curtain. But if we liberate ourselves from this view, I think that the expansion of Nato to any country should not upset any other country.

"I don't believe that Russia—especially if democracy continues to solidify there—will be a threat to Europe. However, the idea of Russia as a member of the alliance does not make a lot of sense. There is a certain equilibrium to Nato and I can hardly imagine that Russia, a big Euro-Asian power, would be satisfied with a role like the one that the Netherlands plays, for example."

Czech membership of a more Eurocentric Nato strikes a chord with Havel's general desire for a "return to Europe" for his country as soon as possible. Havel shares with Czech Prime Minister Vaclav Klaus a reluctance to go along with the idea that the Visegrad four—Poland, the Czech Republic, Hungary and Slovakia should join Nato and the European Union together.

The Czech Republic has just become the first of the postcommunist countries to sign an agreement to join the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD), and is in many ways the success story of the post-1989 era. Given its enviable economic progress and unparalleled political stability, it is not afraid to go it alone.

"It seems that the EU is evaluating each country separately, which is quite understandable," said Havel. "First of all, we must work on ourselves and prepare individually. But of course we have a logical and genuine interest in the other associated countries becoming EU and Nato members as well."

While Klaus is often dubbed a Euro sceptic when he mentions the pitfalls of a single European currency and the need for a shake-up of the EU, Havel is in no doubt that the Czechs overwhelmingly support membership, and discounts the need for a referendum on the issue.

"In certain countries there have been referendums because membership means abandoning a piece of state sovereignty," he said. "A referendum makes sense for a question which is controversial and divides the population. If there is general political consensus, however, it is useless."

"There has been political consensus here for three years on our entry into the EU. And as far as Nato is concerned, I don't see any particular reason why membership should be subject to a referendum—and I don't remember any of the Nato member countries having one."

Havel minimises any negative effects on Czech-Slovak trade as a result of the Czechs' joining the EU ahead of their neighbours.

"It should not be a significant blow to our economic relationship with Slovakia. But it is in our long-term political interest that Slovakia should become a member of the EU."

This careful comment reflects an increasing caution in Havel's judgments on the tempestuous politics being played out in the eastern half of former Czechoslovakia, where the democratic credentials of the government have been called into question.

"The situation in Slovakia is complicated, and there are some disquieting elements, but I think that it is possible to understand why criticism, especially from the Czech position, might be counterproductive."

In any case, Havel is aware that democracy in the Czech Republic is still in its infancy. To his annoyance, the creation of regional government has repeatedly been put on the back burner by the government, although the voting system for a senate has finally been agreed upon.

Havel's term of office ends in February 1998. By then, the Czechs' democratic constitution may well have been modified to his taste. But if he is preparing to bow out at that point to write a fictional work about intrigue in the corridors of power, he is keeping his cards close to his chest. When pressed on his intentions to stand for another term in 1998, he laughed.

"If I said now that I won't run for office, I would work here for two years as a lame duck, and no one would take me seriously and I would not have any authority or respect. And if I answered to the contrary, then everybody would blackmail me, saying that they won't vote for me if I don't do this or that.

"I would be crazy to answer that question."

Agreement on Double Taxation With Switzerland

AU0612191695 Prague DENNI TELEGRAF in Czech 4 Dec 95 p 1

[Unattributed report: "The Czech Republic and Switzerland Agreed To Prevent Double Taxation"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Prague—The Czech Republic and Switzerland will sign an agreement on the prevention of double taxation today. Switzerland is one of the last OECD countries with which the Czech Republic did not have such an agreement. This was reported by Finance Ministry press spokesman Ludmila Nutilova.

The talks had been conducted for more than ten years before all the controversial points were cleared. "This was caused by the great differences in the taxation systems of the two countries," the press spokesman observed. The last such problem was the taxation of license fees in the state of origin. "This problem is addressed in a protocol that is a part of the agreement," Nutilova informed. The taxation of license fees will for a certain time—before Switzerland introduces a similar tax—amount to 5 percent. The Czech Republic currently has almost 40 such agreements in effect with, among others, all the EU countries. As Ludmila Nutilova added, Finance Minister Ivan Kocarnik will sign the agreement for the Czech Republic, and Ambassador Sylvia Pauly for Switzerland.

Holan Admits Army's Capability 'Diminishing'

AU0612142495 Prague MLADA FRONTA DNES in Czech 5 Dec 95 p 1

[Article by "(gag, sag)": "The Army Is Ceasing To Be Capable of Action"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Olomouc—Defense Minister Vilem Holan has admitted publicly for the first time that the army's technical obsolescence is diminishing appreciably its capability for action. "If we were to work out the balance of the army's technical capabilities, we would ascertain that it has a substantial deficit," said the minister yesterday during a visit to the Olomouc army corps.

According to Holan, it is enough to look at the army's skills in carrying out maneuvers at night and conducting effective fire. This applies—to the same extent—to the limited opportunities for the Air Force in navigation or to the obsolete telecommunications or guidance systems.

Therefore, Holan intends to reduce the troop numbers and invest the money saved in modernizing the army. "The army's main problem is its technical obsolescence," said Holan.

The Air Force has been affected most dramatically by the lack of funds for modernization. The minister has admitted that pilot training is on the decline. Military pilots—who want to remain anonymous so that their superiors do not accuse them of damaging the unit's morale—point out that the constant constraints on flying hours and also the shortage of spare parts have resulted in them beginning to be afraid in the air.

"We have not been practicing a number of maneuvers indispensable to present-day combat for some time now, so we cannot be used for the defense of the country," said one of them. The deputy commander of the Air Force, Colonel Frantisek Padelek, said that any kind of ground operation is hopeless without air support.

The pilots claim that they are used to the dangers; but they do not understand why their diminishing competence should place at risk the citizens of the towns over which they fly. "Our lack of practice is asking for a tragedy in which dozens of people may be massacred," they warn.

According to Holan, the only way out of this crisis is to buy new aircraft or to modernize the current ones. "It does not make sense for the pilots to train in old aircraft and then have to get used to new ones," said Holan.

SD-LSNS Elects Officers, Election Leaders

AU0612191595 Prague LIDOVE NOVINY in Czech 4 Dec 95 p 3

[Article by Marketa Matouskova and Eva Martinkova: "Dienstbier and Bodenlos Joined Forces"]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] [Passage omitted] The participants of the weekend congress in Hradec Kralove, east Bohemia, turned down proposals to rename the party and decided on the name Free Democrats-Liberal National Social Party [SD-LSNS], under which the merged party will participate in the elections. The party has two chairmen: Jiri Dienstbier (formerly SD) and Vavrinec Bodenlos (formerly LSNS). Josef Lesak (LSNS) and Tomas Sokol (SD) were elected deputy chairmen. Jiri Dienstbier will be the national Chamber of Deputies elections leader, and Jaroslav Safarik became Senate elections leader. [passage omitted]

The Party of Friends of Beer integrated into the LSNS even before the congress, and its members have an opportunity to found a Club for the Support of Brewing Industry in the newly formed entity. [passage omitted]

Schenk Stresses Promoting Ties With NATO

LD0612211395 Bratislava Rozhlasova Stanica Slovensko Network in Slovak 1600 GMT 6 Dec 95

[FBIS Translated Text] At a session of the North Atlantic Cooperation Council in Brussels today, Slovak Foreign Minister Juraj Schenk stressed that within the framework of the Partnership for Peace program Slovakia expects a widening and deepening of cooperation between NATO and countries wishing to join it. At the same time, Juraj Schenk expressed the hope that the signing of the Paris agreement on Bosnia will bring to an end the biggest military conflict in Europe since the end of World War II. He also informed his partners that the Slovak authorities are negotiating with the alliance over a draft agreement concerning the transit of Intervention Force troops over the territory of the Slovak Republic.

Meciar, EU Commission Chairman Meeting Postponed

AU0712142095 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 6 Dec 95 p 2

[Article by CTK: "Meeting Postponed"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Bratislava—Prime Minister Vladimir Meciar's meeting with European Commission Chairman Jacques Santer, which was scheduled to take place in Brussels on 20-21 December, has been postponed. Magda Pospisilova, the prime minister's spokeswoman, confirmed this information to CTK yesterday. According to Pospisilova, the meeting should take place "as soon as possible" next year. Magda Pospisilova stressed the EU Commission chairman's interest in deepening dialogue with Prime Minister Meciar within the framework of Slovakia's efforts to join the EU. The spokeswoman confirmed that Vladimir Meciar will participate in the EU summit in Madrid on 15-16 December.

Commentary on Consequences of Signing Language Law

AU0612154995 Prague LIDOVE NOVINY in Czech 2 Dec 95 p 7

[Commentary by Peter Schultz: "Controversial Struggle Over the Slovak Language"]

[FBIS Translated Text] On Tuesday [28 November], Slovak President Michal Kovac signed the Law on State Language, and thereby put a full stop, after a fortnight, to speculation about how he would act. Nevertheless, his signature beneath a somewhat curious text, which opens a nonconstitutional legal vacuum, truly surprised only those observers with major sight defects. Namely the presidential "yes" was beyond all doubt as soon as the Democratic Union and the Party of the Democratic Left deputies got up from their seats and, to the applause of the coalition fellows, repeated in front of the cameras, one after another: "I vote in favor of the adoption of the Law on...."

It was naive to expect Kovac himself to deny his own identity of an occasional democrat coming originally from the Movement for a Democratic Slovakia [HZDS]. The vote of the Democratic Union and the Party of the Democratic Left served as an alibi for him in other power duels—should Prime Minister Meciar actually decide on a referendum regarding Kovac, he will have one "argument" less. On the other hand, Kovac can now pose as an "excellent Slovak."

Hungarian Christian Democratic speaker Bardos, somewhat unnecessarily and certainly prematurely, waved the wrong end of the "referendum stick" before Kovac's eyes, when he threatened that the "disappointment of Hungarian voters with his signature could influence their decision in the referendum." The idea that the "Hungarian end of the stick" is substantially shorter is completely legitimate and, based on the "census," also unassailable. Nonetheless, appearances can be deceptive—if the circus around the language law left the 5 million Slovaks, with the exception of a few thousand, completely cool and uninterested, the 500,000 Hungarians really consider it to be wrong and discriminatory.

Kovac's justification of the signature, to which the more principled part of the opposition press paid a lot of attention, is more a topic for three feuilletons than for a serious commentary. Of course, one should call spade a spade: The presidential "faith" in the coalition promise that the chamber would adopt an "additional" law regulating the use of the languages of ethnic minorities represents not naivete, but rather hypocrisy. Even Parliament Chairman Gasparovic, when asked on the date for the adoption of this addition after Kovac's signing, showed a "realistic picture" to all the dreamers—sometime in 1996. Rendering the HZDS language into the "state language," this means not before 1997. Even if this "translation" were not exact, the date itself does not say anything about the content of the possible law. Hence, the president should not have signed a norm that introduces even a temporarily unlawful situation.

The most serious consequence of the presidential nod to the language law is, however, a further complication of the question of the basic Hungarian-Slovak treaty. Namely, precisely a presidential veto could have reversed the now-firm decision of the Hungarian coalition not to support this treaty. It declares this change to its so-far supportive stand a gesture of opposition to the language law.

Since the treaty failed to attract majority support in four parliamentary committees to date, the threat of an international disgrace, which a failed ratification certainly would mean, has become very real. The present stands of the "Slovak" opposition clearly indicate that, this time, the prime minister will have to resort to purely his "own resources." Those, as is well known, are not sufficient in this matter—even if Meciar managed to get his own club in order (almost half the HZDS deputies abstained in the committee votes).

It seems that Meciar has not politically concluded this important step and that he let things run their course, depending completely on his proverbial good luck—in this instance, on the responsibility of the "Slovak" opposition and the "egotism" of the Hungarian coalition. It seems, however, that he highly overestimated the former group. The Hungarians, if they take the protection of their voters seriously, should support the document on the treaty. If for no other reason, then because the parliamentary ratification makes the treaty, including the "critical" Council of Europe Recommendation No. 1201, a part of the Slovak Legal Code, and one that is superior to the internal norms—i.e., also superior to the language law. This fact is the only hope. Perhaps the Hungarian deputies will think it over thoroughly once more and will discard the nonsensical gesture of spite at the last moment. This hypothesis could have turned into a certainty if Kovac had acted like a statesman on Tuesday, 28 November. An indirect result of his signing the law may be that the parliament will not ratify the interstate Hungarian-Slovak treaty.

Kovac: Interior Minister Violates Constitution

AU0612074095 Bratislava SME in Slovak 1 Dec 95 p 2

[Article by "bog": "President Draws Deputies' Attention to Alleged Violation of the Constitution of the Slovak Republic by Minister Hudek"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Bratislava—In a letter addressed to the chairmen of parliamentary clubs in the National Council of the Slovak Republic [NRSR], a few days ago, President Michal Kovac draws attention to the fact that Minister of Interior Ludovit Hudek "has repeatedly and over the long term been violating the law and, what is more, the supreme law, the Constitution of the Slovak Republic, which jeopardizes compliance with the law within the state in general in an exceptionally serious manner." In his letter, the president argues that, in conformity with Article 102, section "r," of the Constitution of the Slovak Republic, he asked the minister on 30 May 1995 to submit a report to him. "On 31 May, the minister let me know that, following an agreement with the head of government, the prime minister personally would react to my letter," Michal Kovac states. Since he did not receive the prime minister's response, he asked Ludovit Hudek for the report anew on 1 June. The minister did not react to his request, however. On 13 June, Michal Kovac informed also the NRSR chairman about the minister's violation of his constitutional duty. On 20 September, the president again asked Ludovit Hudek for a report, this time on a different matter, "the contents of which I cannot make public in this letter because matters concerning state secrets were involved." In the request of 20 September, the president reminded the minister also of his previous requests. "Instead of giving proper replies to specifically formulated questions, the minister sent me the copy of a report addressed to a different agency. Leaving aside this expression of extremely bad manners, the report did not respond to a number of my questions," Michal Kovac states in his letter. Therefore, on 10 November, he reiterated his questions for Ludovit Hudek for the third time. "I have not received a reply even to this letter," the president writes, adding that he considers it his duty to inform deputies about these facts. As we have already reported, on 21 November the government resolved, also in this connection, to ask the Constitutional Court of the Slovak Republic for an interpretation of Article 102, section "r," of the Constitution of the Slovak Republic.

Gasparovic Views Parliamentary Investigations

AU0612141295 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 1 Dec 95 pp 1, 3

[Interview with Ivan Gasparovic, chairman of the National Council of the Slovak Republic, by Nora Sliskova; place and date not given: "Parliament Is Not an Inquisitional Body"]

[FBIS Translated Text] The Constitutional Court has issued a ruling, according to which the establishment and activity of investigation commissions of the National Council of the Slovak Republic [NRSR], as well as its supervisory bodies, are unconstitutional. What will be the practical implications of this ruling?

[Gasparovic] It simply means that commissions of the Slovak Parliament will no longer be created in the way they have been created thus far. The tradition of the establishment of such parliamentary commissions goes back to 1990. If I remember correctly, the first such commission was to investigate the circumstances of the fall of the then prime minister, Mr. Meciar. This commission was collecting materials concerning the Tiso villa [seat of the communist-era StB (secret police) in Trencin, west Slovakia, Vladimir Meciar's place of residence prior to 1989, from which StB files disappeared in 1990 when Meciar was Slovak interior minister]. The second commission was set up to investigate Indiagate [scandal involving defreezing Slovak claims in India]. This commission, too, was initiated by the then coalition, we were in opposition then. If you look at the statements I made when these commissions were created, you will see that I have always been against them because Parliament is a lawmaking and not an inquisitional body. The Constitution mentions the possibility of establishing parliamentary committees and they, within their jurisdiction, are able to establish commissions. The powers of these commissions, and the spheres of activity to which they are assigned, are a different matter.

[Sliskova] In conjunction with the aforementioned Constitutional Court verdict, the Constitution provides a six-month deadline for eliminating the present anticonstitutional situation. However, the possibility also exists that Parliament itself will abolish the commissions. What will be the further course of action?

[Gasparovic] I think that the six-month deadline will be preserved for solving the functioning of the two existing commissions—the commission investigating the crisis of March 1994 and the commission investigating Alexander Dubcek's car accident. As regards the commission set up to ascertain the circumstances of the sale of pontoon bridges [to India], it has already concluded its work and has submitted the results of its work to the criminal prosecution bodies. As for the commission that is chaired by Deputy Macuska [investigating the causes of the "constitutional crisis" of March 1994 when Parliament passed a vote of no-confidence in the Meciar-led government], it should have already reached its final conclusions and, therefore, it can issue them at any time within the aforementioned time frame [of six months].

[Sliskova] Do you expect the Constitutional Court ruling to speed up the process of approving the new NRSR Rules of Procedure, given the fact that the issue of investigation commissions has until now been one of the most controversial points of the bill?

[Gasparovic] I have come to an agreement with the deputies who submitted the bill on the NRSR Rules of Procedure not to speed up the approval process. The problem of commissions, on which the Constitutional Court was to issue a ruling, was one of the reasons for my request to postpone the debate on this bill. However, there is also another problem, concerning the incorporation of some organizational issues related to the law on conflict of interests, plus some other open issues. It is necessary to harmonize all these matters so that we do not approve Rules of Procedure that will cause us even bigger problems than the current Rules.

[Sliskova] When will the bill on the Rules of Procedure be put on the agenda of the NRSR plenum?

[Gasparovic] Certainly not in December.

[Sliskova] The 30-day deadline for meeting obligations arising from the law on conflict of interests [which went into effect on 1 November] is over. What are the findings of the parliamentary committee for the incompatibility of posts?

[Gasparovic] For the time being, I have information about only one change in mandates. It concerns the parliamentary seat currently occupied by Slovak Radio Director Mr. Tuzinsky.

[Sliskova] The deputy chairman of the Movement for a Democratic Slovakia, Augustin Marian Huska, has confirmed that the law on the protection of the republic is under preparation. Do you have any information about this? Has a group of deputies asked you to place this item on the agenda of the meeting of Parliament?

[Gasparovic] No. No official version of the law on the protection of the republic is available in the NRSR. So far, there also does not exist any version of a Penal Code amendment that would introduce new facts constituting a criminal offense. As far as my information goes, should a law on the protection of the republic be in the works, it would be based on analogous legal provisions of some European countries, such as Sweden or Germany.

[Sliskova] Following the approval of the law on the state language, a much-discussed issue is the adoption of a legislative norm regulating the use of minorities' languages. The possibility is also being mentioned, however, of ratifying the European Charter of Regional Languages. Which of the two options is more feasible, in your opinion?

[Gasparovic] I think that the European Charter of Regional Languages may well be adopted. It comprises approximately 100 points that should be fulfilled. Of this, each country must meet at least 30 conditions laid down in the Charter. At the moment, our country already meets at least 60 points.

[Bratislava NARODNA OBRODA in Slovak on 1 December on pages 1 and 2 carries a 400-word report by Ivan Samel on a similar interview with NRSR Chairman Ivan Gasparovic. According to NARODNA OBRODA, Gasparovic reiterated his view that, following the Constitutional Court ruling, the parliamentary investigation commissions need not be abolished immediately, but can function for another six months. "Asked whether it would not be a legally purer solution to immediately abolish the commissions because, according to the Constitutional Court's finding, their establishment and activity were not in conformity with the Constitution, Ivan Gasparovic assumed the viewpoint that, until the Constititional Court's ruling, their activity was in conformity with the Constitution because laws valid at the time were not violated," the NARODNA OBRODA report states.]

HZDS Officials Attack Constitutional Court

AU0612203995

[FBIS Editorial Report] Slovak newspapers from 30 November to 4 December publish reactions by Slovak political representatives to the Constitutional Court's verdict of 2[illegible] November that the current "investigation commissions" operating under the Slovak Parliament are unconstitutional. While opposition representatives applaud the Constitutional Court's ruling, representatives of the Movement for a Democratic Slovakia [HZDS] criticize the decision, arguing that it "serves" the opposition, because it is designed to "thwart" parliamentary investigations into the "unlawful actions" of the opposition and President Kovac. Opposition and coalition representatives also disagree on the implications of the Constitutional Court's decision for the existing commissions of inquiry, particularly the commission set up to "clarify the causes of the constitutional crisis of 1994," that is, the events preceding the fall of Vladimir Meciar's government in March 1994.

Bratislava NARODNA OBRODA in Slovak on 30 November on page 2 carries a 600-word report by Zita Sujova and Ivan Samel on an interview with HZDS Deputy Dusan Macuska, chairman of the parliamentary commission investigating the circumstances of the "constitutional crisis" of 1994, entitled "Macuska Will Yet Weigh Up Whether He Will Subject Himself to the Constitutional Court's Decision." Macuska is quoted as having told the NARODNA OBRODA correspondents that, by its decision of 29 November, "the Constitutional Court convinced even the tiny group of naive people who still had faith in objectivity and justice whom it is that is served by the Constitutional Court's verdicts or decisions." The report goes on to say: "In the opinion of Dusan Macuska, the Constitutional Court damaged its reputation by this decision. 'Individual opposition deputies, and the president, did everything they could to avoid this investigation commission because they knew very well that this commission has the ambition and possibilities to ascertain their unlawful actions,' Dusan Macuska continued, adding that 'facts of an extremely serious nature were involved, which, most probably, it will not be possible reliably to prove ever again, to which the Constitutional Court's decision has greatly contributed.' Asked whether the decision renders null and void the results of the commission's investigations thus far, Macuska replied: 'I do not know. We will have to consult on the further course of action with HZDS legal experts. I believe, however, that facts that have been truthfully and objectively ascertained should not remain secret and that the opposition and the president should not be healing their wounds in this way.' According to Dusan Macuska's estimate, the commission should wind up its work late this year or early next year, but he was unable to say whether it would inform Parliament about its results. 'We will have to reassess this issue, which is now at a different level. I believe that precisely this was the reason why the opposition deputies lodged their complaint with the Constitutional Court and that this also was the purpose of the decision of the Constitutional Court itself,' he noted. Asked whether he would subject himself to the decision of the Constitutional Court, regardless of his disagreement with it, Dusan Macuska replied: 'I will yet weigh this up. We will come to an agreement on this with HZDS legislators and legal theorists'."

Bratislava SLOVENSKA REPUBLIKA on 1 December on page 2 publishes the following statement by HZDS and National Council of the Slovak Republic [NRSR] Deputy Chairman Augustin Marian Huska: "I consider the Constitutional Court's decision to be proof that assessment of problems from party positions prevails in the Constitutional Court. It is untenable for the Constitutional Court of the Slovak Republic to prescribe to Parliament the structure of its working bodies. The NRSR is the supreme legislative will in Slovakia and has the right to make decisions about the state, as well as about itself. The Constitution does not rule out the formation of working bodies and Parliament, as the creator of the Constitution, can therefore set up various working bodies, including investigation commissions."

Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak on 1 December on page 2 carries a 500-word interview with Jan Drgonec, judge of the Constitutional Court, by Jan Dulin, in which Drgonec explains that the Constitutional Court's decision does not have retroactive effect and will "take legal effect" only after its publication in the Legal Gazette. This means, according to Drgonec, that "before the ruling has been promulgated in the Legal Gazette, Mr. Macuska can submit the report on the activity of his commission to Parliament." Drgonec also reacts to HZDS officials' criticism of the Constitutional Court's ruling. He says that, under Article 132 of the Slovak Constitution, decisions of the Constitutional Court are "binding" and "must be respected." Otherwise, "the very principle of the law-governed state would be called into question," he says.

Bratislava NARODNA OBRODA in Slovak on 2 December on page 2 carries a 300-word interview with Michal Bencik, "Party of the Democratic Left [SDL] deputy and legal expert," by Ivan Samel. In the interview, the place and date of which are not given, Bencik reacts to the view of NRSR Chairman Ivan Gasparovic that, after the promulgation of the Constitutional Court's ruling in the Legal Gazette, it will be possible for the parliamentary investigation commissions to operate for another six months. Bencik says: "I cannot agree with this interpretation because it does not conform with Article 132 of the Constitution from which it clearly transpires that, following the publication of the Constitutional Court's finding in the Legal Gazette, the [contested] legal norm ceases to be effective. The existence and activity of such a commission are deprived of their legal foundation." According to Bencik, it is necessary to make a distinction between the "loss of effectiveness" of the contested legal norm, which occurs immediately after the promulgation of the Constitutional Court decision, and the "loss of its validity," which occurs after six months, if the law is not brought into conformity with the Constitution by then. Alluding to the fact that Ivan Gasparovic was originally a professor of law by profession, Bencik says: "The terms effectiveness and validity of a legal norm are so elementary, established formulas that even only a slightly educated lawyer should not have problems with their interpretation."

Bratislava SME in Slovak on 2 December on page 3 carries a 400-word report by "r" entitled "G. Kaliska and M. Janicina Are Suing Macuska's Commission in Connection with the Constitutional Court Ruling." The report states that Gabriela Kaliska, a former parliamentary deputy, and Milan Janicina, minister of privatization in the government of Jozef Moravcik until December 1994, have decided to sue members of the NRSR commission for investigating the causes of the crisis of the constitutional system in 1994. According to the two plaintiffs, members of the commission, "the activity of which is inconsistent with valid Slovak law," made themselves guilty of "abuse of the powers of a public official" when they summoned Kaliska and Janicina to a hearing, ordered that they be escorted to the hearing by the police, and fined Kaliska 20,000 korunas for failing to turn up.

Bratislava SLOVENSKA REPUBLIKA in Slovak on 2 December on page 3 carries a 600-word interview with HZDS Deputy Dusan Macuska by Eva Zelenayova entitled "Scenario for Sealing Mouths." In the interview, the date and place of which are not given, Macuska voices the view that the criticism of the parliamentary commissions of inquiry is motivated by the critics' fear of the commissions' findings. He says: "All of a sudden, when we announced that we would submit to Parliament a report on serious unlawful activity by important politicians, literally a few days prior to its publication, it was 'discovered' that what has until now been considered inevitable for Parliament's activity was, for almost five years, at variance with the Constitution!" Macuska continues: "For almost a year, the president and other opposition politicians have been successfully avoiding our commission so that they would not have to reply truthfully to our questions. They knew that, in spite of this, we have arrived at serious findings. Therefore, the Constitutional Court of the Slovak Republic was their last hope. And precisely this possibility came off at the last moment. Am I supposed to consider this a coincidence?" In spite of the Constitutional Court's ruling, Macuska voices his conviction that "we will find legally pure forms for the citizens to learn that, even among the political elites, there exist politicians with extremely dirty hands." He concludes the interview by saying: "After my first bitter experience, when the Constitutional Court of the Slovak Republic decided on [the legitimate participation of] the Democratic Union [in the elections] without even unsealing its petition sheets, I told myself that we would prove in some other way that the Democratic Union is in Parliament without justification. And we did prove that. In this case, however, I have the feeling that someone wants to thwart, once and for all, the possibility of uncovering the true facts of March 1994."

Bratislava NARODNA OBRODA in Slovak on 4 December on page 2 carries a 600-word interview with Democratic Union Chairman Jozef Moravcik by Zita Sujova entitled "Mrs. Lazarova and Mr. Sestak Behaved Like Amateurs." In the interview, the place and date of which are not given, Moravcik responds, among other things, to NRSR Chairman Gasparovic's view that the commissions of inquiry can operate for six more months. Moravcik says: "From the legal viewpoint, this is nonsense. When the Constitutional Court ascertained an anticonstitutional state of affairs, it would be legally perverted to perpetuate this anticonstitutional state of affairs. Likewise, the matters that Macuska's commission has 'investigated' have no legal force and should not be submitted to Parliament as a report of the investigation commission. However, nothing prevents Mr. Macuska from raising this problem in the general debate. Personally, I would be looking forward eagerly to such a debate."

Kovacs Welcomes Plans for NATO Expansion Talks

LD0612211495 Budapest Kossuth Radio Network in Hungarian 1800 GMT 6 Dec 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Hungarian Foreign Minister Laszlo Kovacs is satisfied with the North Atlantic Cooperation Council's position on the future expansion of NATO. Laszlo Kovacs told Hungarian correspondents in Brussels that the fact that NATO has put the examination of the possible effects of an enlargement on its agenda indicates the irreversibility of the process.

The minister also regards the start of intensive consultations with the applicants next year as important, because it could guarantee that every country will be assessed on the basis of its preparedness and merits.

Editorial Weighs Participation in NATO Mission

AU0612145195 Budapest MAGYAR HIRLAP in Hungarian 5 Dec 95 p 7

[Editorial by Janos T. Barabas: "With or Without NATO"]

[FBIS Translated Text] The National Assembly should decide whether Hungary should comply with NATO's request and participate in the work of the international peacekeeping forces in Bosnia by sending technical units.

It is uncertain whether the proposal will come before the deputies, because opinions are divided in the parties, and even the Hungarian Socialist Party's [MSZP] parliamentary group could not reach a unified stance. Participation would be expedient, because we ourselves would question the seriousness of our intention to be admitted to NATO if we shied away from such an action, which, although it is not without dangers, is directly useful and vitally important for our country.

This is a bit like the believer who chooses points from the Ten Commandments and only obeys the ones that are not against his habits or interests. NATO is not a cake from which we can pick out the raisins.

Nevertheless, the broad opposition is thought-provoking. While, in principle, generally everyone agrees, opinions differ on whether armed units should go or unarmed ones that would rely on NATO's protection. Many are even opposed to any kind of participation.

The most frequent and most justified argument against is the question of why we should risk our sons' lives. How much more has the United States, Great Britain, Germany, or anyone else who is prepared for the task, got to do with it? NATO also consists of nations. It seems that, during 50 years of peace, we have forgotten that the military is a "hazardous business" and, for the opponents, it is not an acceptable argument, either, that only regular soldiers who voluntarily take this risk would go.

According to another attitude, we are again overdoing it; this whole business is not even important from the viewpoint of NATO membership. Naturally, our NATO membership basically depends on whether the alliance will need us, but the sending of troops should certainly not be underestimated. This is one test in the entrance exams that we have to pass. So far, all Partnership for Peace exercises have tried to prepare us to perform peacekeeping tasks. Our "oral exams" were successful in this subject—now comes the practical exam. Will we not even turn up for the test?

Rendering help does not, in this case, mean that we are trying to go one better than others, it is an expected meeting of a norm. If we reject it, the question would be justifiably asked: If we are unable to act in accordance with the common interest in our immediate neighborhood, then to what extent can we be relied on if we, by any chance, have to participate in NATO actions at other, distant points of the world?

The point has also been raised that we would violate a basic tenet of Hungarian foreign policy by sending soldiers to the neighborhood. The assumption that our appearance in the Balkans can serve as an excuse for creating hatred and actions against the Hungarians living there is linked to this view. This is true in theory. However, practice—not only in the former Yugoslavia—shows that Hungarophobic people never needed our assistance when they wanted to lash out at our people.

Gyorgy Keleti's proposal is a final compromise that can be accepted by NATO, and its parliamentary refusal would question our intention to join because it would suggest that we are ready for everything in words but for nothing in deeds. This would be dangerous for our foreign policy as well as for our European integration, which is the basis of our future.

One of the most important lessons of the whole debate is that the supporters of NATO membership already appear to be late. While the opposers have already set themselves up, have worked out their system of arguments, and are preparing for a referendum, the other side believed that it was enough to have realpolitik and the country's geographical situation as supportive arguments. Unfortunately, these are not enough, and this current test also proves that we must be able to convince people that NATO membership is in the country's vital interest.

Country Opposes East Slavonia 'Military Solution'

LD0612154695 Budapest Kossuth Radio Network in Hungarian 1500 GMT 6 Dec 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Croatia would like Hungary, which will be providing the chairman in office of the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe [OSCE], to support the earliest possible reannexation of eastern Slavonia. Deputy Prime Minister Ljerka Mintas-Hodak has been informed by the Hungarian ambassador to Zagreb that Hungary is against any kind of military solution as well as delaying tactics in the matter of eastern Slavonia.

EU Not 'Neutral' on Slovak Language Law Dispute

LD0712180095 Budapest Kossuth Radio Network in Hungarian 1100 GMT 7 Dec 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Is the EU dealing with the Slovak Language Law? This is what our colleague, Peter Zentai, asked EU commissioner Hans van der Broek, who is also present at the OSCE meeting in Hungary:

[Zentai] The EU is not at all neutral regarding the Hungarian-Slovak dispute over the Slovak Language Law, Hans van der Broek, who is a kind of foreign minister of the EU, replied to my question. Hans van der Broek said he was surprised by the dispute between Hungarian Foreign Minister Laszlo Kovacs and Viktor Orban, chairman of the Federation of Young Democrats-Hungarian Civic Party.

Hans van der Broek said he had told Viktor Orban in Brussels that the EU was indeed concerned about discrimination against minorities and the problems of Hungarians in Slovakia too.

The EU, incidentally, trusts the Council of Europe, which will send a delegation to Bratislava to examine, among other things, the issue of the Slovak Language Law.

Hans van der Broek described the Hungarian Government's policy on Slovakia constructive.

Kovacs: Treaty With Romania, Then Reconciliation

AU0612192195 Bucharest CURIERUL NATIONAL in Romanian 29 Nov 95 pp 1, 6

["Exclusive interview" with Foreign Minister Laszlo Kovacs by Eva Galambos; place and date not given: "We Will Be Partners to President Iliescu's Initiative"]

[FBIS Translated Text] [Galambos] Mr. Minister, the report presented at the Hungarian Socialist Party Congress by the party's president [and prime minister] Gyula Horn dealt only partially with the foreign policy aspects of the party program. To what extent do you think the proposed goals have been achieved?

[Kovacs] I believe that in the past one and a half years since we have been in power, we have basically fulfilled our foreign policy objectives. We have achieved everything that was possible to achieve objectively and we have attained everything that was possible to attain in the Hungarian foreign policy, because, as is known, foreign policy operates in a system of conditions and does not depend only on the objectives proposed by a country, but on the context in which they are fulfilled. In concrete terms, Hungary has come close to the European Union and NATO; we have reached the stage of preadherence in case of both organizations, and it seems that before 1989 it will be possible to begin negotiations regarding our association to the European Union. Between 1997-98 we will be able to begin negotiations regarding NATO, but this depends, first of all, on NATO's decision concerning its expansion. I believe that the European Union's expansion is more predictable, the decision depending exclusively on the European Union bodies, while the NATO expansion depends also on other viewpoints, for example, on Russia's reaction. It has no right of veto but, nevertheless, its opinion is taken into account.

Another problem is the intensification of relations with neighboring countries, that is, Hungarian-Romanian and Hungarian-Slovak relations. With Romania, our commercial and economic exchanges have increased, new border crossing points have opened, and cooperation in the military field has intensified; thus, we have taken steps forward. This can be asserted also in connection with Slovakia. However, currently both in Romania and Slovakia, the possibilities of minorities, including the Hungarian minority, to assert their rights have narrowed. The education law in Romania and the law on state language in Slovakia have marked a serious deterioration. But this did not depend on Hungary, so we do not consider these things as a failure of the Hungarian Government. We could not have done anything in this respect, things happened against our will, because with Slovakia we have concluded the basic treaty which regulates the situation of minorities in the spirit of European norms. With Romania we also hold such discussions and negotiations concerning President Iliescu's initiative regarding the historic reconciliation, but in spite of all this, these unfavorable developments have been registered. Thus, relations have been extended but the situation of minorities has deteriorated.

[Galambos] In this context I would like to ask you the following question: When Hungary signed the basic treaty with Slovakia it was considered a success of Hungarian diplomacy. At the same time, Romania has declared that it prefers not to rush things but to draft a good treaty with clear provisions. Do you believe that the evolution in Slovakia confirms the correctness of the Romanian position?

[Kovacs] I do not think so. I believe that if we, the prime ministers, sign a basic treaty which corresponds to European documents regarding minorities and the documents of the Council of Europe respectively, then it means that the two governments have the intention to implement them. We justifiably expected that the Slovak parliament would ratify the treaty the way the Hungarian parliament ratified it. We did not think that the ratification would be delayed and that Slovakia, by adopting the language law, would accept a law that is at variance with the spirit and the letter of the basic treaty. However, I do not believe that the issue is closed. The Slovak authorities, including Prime Minister Meciar, are promising the ratification of the basic treaty and, if this will indeed take place—and I hope it will—then the system of guarantees included in the basic treaty regarding minorities will acquire the power of law, and then we will be able to ask the Slovak Government to implement it or ask them to account for not implementing it. I do not believe that the situation is better without a treaty than when the relations between two countries are regulated by a treaty, assuming that the respective treaty is well drafted and assuming that the two sides also respect it. However, in politics you cannot start from the premise that the other side does not respect the understandings. This would mean the failure of the system of international relations and of the world order.

[Galambos] How does the Hungarian side assess President Iliescu's initiative?

[Kovacs] We agree with the proposal, that is, with the goal that derives from this proposal to achieve a historic reconciliation between the two countries and the two peoples. We declare ourselves partners and we believe that the way to go about it is to solve the disputed problems first in order to achieve reconciliation between the majority and minority, because there is serious tension there. In order for that process to begin, we are ready to discuss the documents that contain President Iliescu's proposals. Recently a meeting between state secretaries of the two countries took place and there we proposed the following: Let us conclude the negotiations on the basic treaty, because that one is almost finalized. Let us conclude it because we consider it important. We are ready to discuss the mechanism of reconciliation, the system of talks and meetings proposed by the Romanian side; we are ready to discuss it, expand it, and enrich it. We are also ready to discuss the document called the code of behavior regarding minorities, but we state that the minorities' problems can be settled only through a judicial way, that is, they cannot be solved through political declarations because they are judicial problems. And then, when all these documents take a concrete shape—thus we do not create a code of behavior but norms—so, when all this is achieved, then will follow that declaration proclaiming the historic reconciliation. In this context I could say that we have created the contractual conditions for the historic reconciliation because the reconciliation itself is a long process.

SZDSZ's Peto Discusses Coalition Relations

AU0612111995 Budapest MAGYAR HIRLAP in Hungarian 2 Dec 95 p 9

[Interview with SZDSZ Chairman Ivan Peto by Dezso Pinter; place and date not given: "We Need Not Change Our Politics"]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] [Passage omitted] [Pinter] Has anything changed in the relationship between the Alliance of Free Democrats [SZDSZ] and the Hungarian Socialist Party [MSZP] since the MSZP's Miskolc congress?

[Peto] Our coalition partner held a consolidated congress where the various views were put forward in a subdued way compared to the preceding battle of words. Our anticipation was proved correct: This was not the congress that closed the internal disputes and could have brought changes in the MSZP's internal conditions and its coalition activities. I presume that the Socialists themselves know best that the period in the MSZP's history, which draws the conclusions of governing so far and faces the tribulations of the past one and a half years, can only be ended with the personnel and organizational decisions that have been postponed until March. [passage omitted]

[Pinter] What effect does the Socialist congress have on the government coalition?

[Peto] A large number of the MSZP's delegates, deputies, and leaders have, by now, learned what kind of adaptability the coalition requires and what limits it sets. The congress made a stronger commitment to the coalition than the broad public had anticipated on the basis of the preceding debates. [passage omitted]

[Pinter] To what extent do personalities in the SZDSZ's leading bodies represent the same stance on the party's participation in the coalition?

[Peto] When talking about party unity, naturally, this can include differences of opinions. However, it is worth clarifying on which points we do not have a major debate. I do not know of any responsible Free Democrat politicians who would claim that there is a better alternative to the coalition in the current situation. None of them are suggesting that we should leave the coalition or that our goal should be leaving it. It is obvious that, rather than being the SZDSZ's or MSZP's own interest, maintaining the coalition is the country's interest. In the past one and a half years, it has also become evident that, in addition to the actual achievements, the sense in having a coalition is also shown in the danger that can be avoided by its existence. In other words, to the question of what is better for the country, the current coalition or a one-party MSZP government with a shaky majority, the answer is clear. A different matter is to what extent people can emotionally identify with this coalition. Big differences exist in this, even among leading SZDSZ politicians. However, as outsiders tend to say, our party pursues conscious politics. We cannot allow emotions to rule over rationality. [passage omitted]

[Pinter] What is the main difference between the parliamentary opposition's criticism of the MSZP and the SZDSZ?

[Peto] Those who would like to make people believe that the MSZP is better or that the SZDSZ corrupts the MSZP can be divided into two groups. One group, although it says this, does not actually believe all this, but considers it useful for achieving its political goals. I am mainly thinking of the Federation of Young Democrats-Hungarian Civic Party [FIDESZ-MPP] which, largely due to the two parties' past connections, considers the SZDSZ its main opponent. The other group includes people who might even believe the devilish image they have created of the SZDSZ. Such politicians exist in the Hungarian Democratic Forum [MDF] and the Christian Democratic People's Party [KDNP], but, interestingly, the Independent Smallholders Party [FKGP] does not make a distinction in this respect between the MSZP and the SZDSZ. The extreme right-wing opposition that did not get into Parliament is a separate category. They attack the SZDSZ in an explicitly brutal way. The wild accusations occasionally grow out of prejudices. Some members of the extreme right wing, referring to the Jewish origin of some leading Free Democrat politicians, talk about the SZDSZ with unconcealed antisemitism and depict the SZDSZ as a party serving foreign interests. To prevent the usual misinterpretations, I will say that it is therefore out of the question that the vast majority of people attacking the SZDSZ could be accused of antisemitism. Prejudices can also come from other sources. For example, the SZDSZ, a party that represents modernization and civic transformation in a Western sense, should not be so big. Some secret affair is in the background, at least some mystical media power; this is how a party that does not show its national commitment through superficial manifestations is more successful than parties that identify themselves with the nation and that use the words Hungarianness and nation as a conjunction.

[Pinter] To what extent is the SZDSZ threatened by becoming politically alone?

[Peto] This is not impossible, but we need not deal with this issue at the moment. It would be timely if the coalition somehow came to an end. However, even then I cannot see any danger in being alone. Although the coalition is better than a one-party government in the current situation, this does not mean that the coalition will last as long as would be justified. The coalition can break up in many ways, even if it is not practical.

[Pinter] Are you preparing for this?

[Peto] I am not, but I have to count on it on the basis of information from other countries and experience gained here in the past one and a half years. Coalitions are always made for one cycle, and it might not be set up again in 1998. The theoretical possibility of another political structure cannot be excluded. Certain political parties—primarily the FIDESZ-MPP—have made it their goal to split the Hungarian political arena into two for good. There should be a—as they call it—civic conservative wing and a social-liberal side called the left wing. Apart from the fact that they cannot fit the Smallholders into this division, the Christian Democrats are even more afraid of the FIDESZ-MPP than of the MSZP, and artificial walls would have to be erected that would exclude the possibility of the otherwise emerging political combinations. In a multiparty democracy, this is nothing other than a game by a small party trying to increase its own role. The scope is given for it by the fact that, apart from the Smallholders who have found their befitting political style in Dadaism combined with rustic elements, the other opposition parties still do not know what they want as their message. The government is undoubtedly fallible, makes many mistakes, and has unpopular policies. However, the opposition is satisfied with the modest message that everything the government is doing is wrong in its direction and details. The opposition does not present an elaborated and realistic alternative and it wants to do something great where it cannot. This leads to very unfortunate debates in parliament on foreign policy and issues on which a basic agreement exists between the government and the opposition parties, disregarding some extremist statements. The debate is based on rhetoric and is getting increasingly heated. This does no good to the country's image or to the general feeling of its population.

Penal Code Amendment Against Racism Debated

LD0612133695 Budapest Kossuth Radio Network in Hungarian 1100 GMT 6 Dec 95

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] Deputies have begun to debate in parliament a draft bill against racial persecution and incitement of hatred. The opposition fears that the amendments might affect the rights of citizens. [passage omitted]

Andras Domany and Tamas Luigits report from parliament:

[Domany] The draft amendment to the Penal Code, which was submitted today, says among other things that a person who harms another person or forces him to do something because of his belonging—or his assumed belonging—to a national, ethnic, racial, or religious group could in a qualified instance be condemned to as much as eight years' imprisonment. Heftier punishments than hitherto would also be imposed on anyone who before a wide public incites hatred against the Hungarian nation or against a national, ethnic, racial, or religious group. It would be a crime to found or lead a social organization aimed at committing or inciting a criminal act, or if a person takes part in leading a social organization dissolved by the court.

According to those who submitted and support the bill, a tough stance against racism and against incitement of hatred is justified by domestic and international experiences and by commitments undertaken in international agreements, and this does not mean an inadmissible limitation of the freedom of opinion and freedom of speech.

The objective was not disputed even by the key speakers for the opposition, but the methods of achieving it were. They all considered dangerous the planned restriction of the right of association. In their view, this could lead to an abuse of political power. According to Katalin Kutrucz, a deputy of the Hungarian Democratic Forum [MDF], the draft arouses fear, and Jozsef Szajer, head of the parliamentary group of the Federation of Young Democrats-Hungarian Civic Party [FIDESZ-MPP], also cautioned against imprecise formulations. According to Miklos Gaspar, a deputy of the Christian Democratic People's Party [KDNP], political debates could also be distorted into racial issues, and thereby the debating partner could be limited.

Jozsef Torgyan, head of the parliamentary group of the Independent Smallholders' Party [FKGP], considers several points to be unconstitutional and he also criticized the point that the leaders of dissolved organizations could be punished, a point on which Katalin Kutrucz did not agree with him.

The general debate was postponed; it will probably only be resumed next year. [passage omitted]

Economic Researchers 'Pessimistic' on GDP Growth

AU0612171295 Budapest MAGYAR HIRLAP in Hungarian 5 Dec 95 p 11

[Report by MTI: "Economic Researchers Are Pessimistic—Fragile Stabilization?"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Independent economic researchers have a much more pessimistic view of the economy's progress this year than the government. Last week, ministers predicted a 2 percent economic growth for this year. In contrast, Andras Vertes, chairman and general director of the Economic Research Corporation, and Zita Maria Petsching, member of the Financial Research Corporation, find a maximum 1 percent growth realistic, it was announced at the national meeting of company leaders.

According to Petsching, the current stabilization is fragile and no significant improvement can be seen in the economy's competitiveness or in the export-import balance. She called the goals of the government's three-year economic program unrealistic because she finds it impossible for the domestic economy to come onto a higher rate growth course after 1996 and for it to produce a 3- to 4-percent-GDP growth from 1997.

According to Tamas Katona, chairman of the Central Statistical Office, with the some 2.9 percent increase in last year's GDP, the Hungarian economy restored its conditions of 15 years ago. Istvan Bihari, chairman of the National Technical Development Commission, called attention to the fact that full modernization cannot be implemented without catching up in technology.

Labor Minister Peter Kiss can see a chance for the price-wage agreement to be reached this week at the Interest Coordination Council's session. In his view, creating a realistic chance of employment for people at the beginning of their working life is one of the Labor Ministry's most important future tasks. Setting up an apprentice system could be one way of solving this.

A large-scale one-off forint devaluation should not at all be expected at the beginning of next year, Zoltan Bodnar, deputy chairman of the Hungarian National Bank [MNB], announced. This would upset the well-functioning system of sliding devaluation used this year. We could lose foreign confidence with a one-off major devaluation. In Bodnar's view, the MNB's foreign currency quotation system will probably have to be changed next year. The currency of a number of East European countries—Poland and the Czech Republic among others—already complies with convertibility according to the IMF's Paragraph 8. For this reason, Hungarian companies cannot continue to trade in dollars or marks from January 1996 with these countries.

Privatization Deals Concluded in Energy Sector

LD0712114095 Budapest Kossuth Radio Network in Hungarian 0900 GMT 7 Dec 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Six electricity companies and two power generators have been sold for 170 billion forints in Hungary, two dailies report, referring to information from the State Privatization and Assets Management Joint-Stock Company [APV Rt]. Promising talks about the privatization of two more power generators are continuing.

In addition to the sale of electricity companies, contracts for the privatization of three gas companies—the North Transdanubian, the South Transdanubian, and the South Great Plain Gas Supplying Companies—have also been drafted. Contracts with the winners of the bids will be signed tomorrow.

According to APV Rt officials, offers only for the purchase of the electricity and gas sector reach about $4.5 billion, which is unprecedented in the history of privatization in East Europe.

Government Supports Bildt as Peace Coordinator

AU0512201095 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 5 Dec 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Bosnia-Herzegovina will support the candidacy of EU mediator for the former Yugoslavia Carl Bildt for coordinator for the implementation of the Dayton peace agreement for Bosnia-Herzegovina the and German member of the Contact Group Michael Steiner as his deputy. This was stated today by Bosnia- Herzegovina Foreign Minister Muhamed Sacirbegovic.

Sacirbegovic stressed that this positive reaction by Bosnia- Herzegovina to Bildt's and Steiner's candidacies followed a query from the international community. It has been envisaged that the coordinator would carry out his duties mostly outside Bosnia- Herzegovina, while his deputy would work on the ground, Sacirbegovic added.

AFP Reports Details of NATO Deployment

AU0612103895 Paris AFP in English 1009 GMT 6 Dec 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Zagreb, Dec 6 (AFP) — Herewith are details on the deployment of NATO forces in ex-Yugoslavia. The soldiers deployed so far are part of a 2,600-strong so-called enabling team that is to set the stage for the full implementation force to move into Bosnia.

Roughly 1,400 NATO troops were expected in Bosnia in the next two weeks and another 1,200 in Croatia, including some 700 US troops.

US troops will account for most of the force with 700 in Bosnia, and 2,000 in total. Britain is the next biggest contributor with around 350.

Although the troops deployed so far are NATO soldiers they will operate under UN command pending the official signature of the Bosnia peace accord in Paris on December 14. The troop deployment will shift into full gear within four days of the accord being signed and a UN resolution passed to hand over authority to NATO

NATO has pledged 60,000 troops to implement the peace accord and around 40,000 support staff.

— SARAJEVO: Small units of British, American, French and Belgian troops began arriving in the Bosnian capital on Monday to pave the way for the 60,000-strong multi-national force due to start deploying in coming weeks.

Some 180 German officers were on standby Wednesday to leave for Sarajevo to set up the headquarters of the peace implementation force as soon as Germany's lower house, the Bundestag, votes to approve German participation in the force. Germany has pledged 4,000 non-combat troops, to be based mainly in Croatia.

— TUZLA, Bosnia-Hercegovina: An advance party of 10 senior US officers arrived on Tuesday in this northern Bosnian town which will be the base for the 20,000 US troops to be deployed in the region. The officers were scouting the area ahead of the full deployment. Brigadier-General Stan Cherrie said US troops would initially confine their activities to Moslem and Croat areas and "eventually" deploy in Serb-held sectors.

— ZAGREB: NATO troops have arrived daily in the Croatian capital in the last week although it was impossible to determine their exact number. US Army troops have begun setting up a communcations center at the UN base in Zagreb, which will serve as the temporary headquarters for the NATO operation.

Additional troops were expected to arrive in Zagreb Wednesday and in coming days, including members of a 21-strong team that is to handle public relations matters.

— SPLIT, Croatia: Ninety six British advance troops arrived on Monday in the southern Croatian port city of Split. They include 56 from the Seventh Signal Regiment based in Germany and about 40 from Britain. The soldiers are all part of the alliance's rapid reaction corps (ARRC). They were to stay and the Divulje UN base near Split and head to the central Bosnian town of Gornji Vakuf at the end of the week.

Several American troops have also arrived in Split this week to set up a communications command center.

— NAPLES, Italy: A 13-vehicle convoy left the alliance's southern Europe command on Tuesday and was due to arrive in Zagreb Wednesday evening.

The convoy is transporting technical equipment for NATO's peace enforcement mission. That includes computers, radio equipment and other communications gear for the enabling force that is to set the stage for the full deplopyment.

Another convoy was due to leave Naples on Wednesday.

— HUNGARY: Some 100 American soldiers were expected to arrive Thursday from Germany at the Taszar military base in southern Hungary. They are to set up a logistics center and five resupply bases for the US troops based in Tuzla. This first unit of soldiers will be follozed by 3,000 additional US troops taking part in operation "Concerted Effort." About 1,000 of these troops will be based at Taszar and the remainder in the nearby town of Kaposvar.

NATO Concern Over Implementation

MS0712103495 London THE EUROPEAN in English 7-13 Dec 95 pp 1-2

[Report by Ian Mather: "Nato Fears For Bosnia Accord"]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Concern is mounting that delays in implementing the civilian aspects of the Bosnian peace agreement will threaten Nato's military mission, the biggest-ever undertaken by the alliance.

Nato is masterminding the dispatch of 60,000 troops from 32 countries in what is certain to be the severest test so far of the alliance's efforts to adapt itself to crisis management and peacekeeping roles in the new era.

But virtually no progress has been made over arrangements for restoring civilian rule, returning refugees to their homes and reconstructing the country even though Nato is only days away from sending in the troops.

"If there is no improvement soon Nato may have to take on a police force role, police training and the reconstruction of the country," said a senior Nato official. "It's not Nato's intention to become a provisional government. But we are not a heartless organisation, and one cannot turn one's back on civilian suffering.

"If there are no civilian improvements soon the impression will be conveyed to the population in Bosnia that the world is not fully engaged in the problem."

The result is that heavy expectations are invested in the London conference on 8-9 December, the first of several high-level meetings to try to solve the outstanding problems surrounding the implementation of the Dayton, Ohio, peace accord.

It is hoped that it will appoint a High Representative, probably Carl Bildt, the EU's special negotiator for Bosnia. But duties for such a role have not yet been agreed.

At a summit in Paris on 14 December all parties to the Bosnian war will sign the Elysee treaty, giving legal authority to the Dayton accord. Later, Germany will host an arms-control conference to try to seek weapons reductions in Bosnia.

The Nato mission will expose the delicate new relationships being forged between Europe, Russia and the United States, and between the alliance and two of its members, France and Germany.

Talks are taking place to formalise an agreement with Russia, which will send 2,500 troops, and a Nato-Russia Consultation Commission for Bosnia is to be launched to ensure that the Russians are consulted.

France's announcement that it is ending its 30-year boycott of Nato's military wing has been welcomed. But France is expected to use its new position to push for political control over the Bosnia intervention force through the North Atlantic Council, Nato's ruling body. This could bring it into conflict with the US. Germany also heralded a new relationship with Nato when the Bundestag approved sending up to 5,000 troops to Croatia in a support role.

French Sector 'Most Difficult'

AU0612203295 Paris AFP in English 1931 GMT 6 Dec 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Sarajevo, Dec 6 (AFP) — French forces are being deployed in the most difficult sector of the NATO peace implementation operation [IFOR] in Bosnia, a former French minister said here Wednesday [6 December].

In particular, French forces will have to deal with the thorny issue of the Serb-held suburbs of Sarajevo whose residents refuse to return to Bosnian administration as called for under the terms of the Dayton agreement.

"They must at least try to prevent a crisis" for these Serbs, said Jean Francois Deniau, an economist who has held several government posts.

Some 40,000 Serbs live in the Sarajevo area, according to the UN High Commissioner for Refugees, and many are threatening to fight or leave.

France and Russia have called for guarantees to protect Serbs living in Sarajevo, and U.S. Secretary of State Warren Christopher on Wednesday acknowledged that their fears must be taken into account as the peace accord is implemented.

The French sector, whose headquarters will be the divided southern city of Mostar, will also include Pale, the "capital" of the self-declared Serb Republic, and the Moslem enclave of Gorazde.

The U.S. sector will be headquartered in Tuzla, in the northeast, while the British will be based in central Gornji Vakuf.

Silajdzic Interviewed on 'Completed' Peace Talks

AU0712092695 Cologne Deutschlandfunk Network in German 0500 GMT 7 Dec 95

[Telephone interview with Bosnian Prime Minister Haris Silajdzic in Sarajevo by Wolfgang Labuhn in the Cologne studio on the evening of 6 December; Silajdzic

Sipovo, Mrkonjic Grad Situation 'Deteriorated'

AU0612195695 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 6 Dec 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Following the initialing of the Dayton peace agreement, the situation in Mrkonjic Grad and Sipovo has deteriorated. This was stated at today's extraordinary session of the Government of the Republic and Federation of Bosnia-Herzegovina chaired by Prime Minister Haris Silajdzic. Due to a feeling of insecurity and distress, the remaining Bosniak and Croatian population has asked to be temporarily moved from the area.

Reviewing the current situation in Mrkonjic Grade, the government stressed that until the arrival of IFOR forces, the people must be given firm guarantees that they will stay in their homes, or, in accordance with their wishes, they must be safely moved to the free territories in the Republic.

The government concluded that the decision was to be made on the spot after a concrete investigation into the situation on the ground, which will be carried out jointly by Muharem Cero, minister for refugees and social policy, and representatives of the Army, the Interior Ministry, and the Croatian Defense Council.

Mladic Addresses Drina Corps on Peace Accord

AU0612200395 Banja Luka Srpska Televizija in Serbo-Croatian 2005 GMT 5 Dec 95

[Report by Zeljko Stojanovic from the "Defending Our Country" program]

[FBIS Translated Text] Created from the experience of youth, which is the most valuable synthesis of the soldier's job as adapted to the specific circumstances of the Serb Republic and to what lies ahead, the first professional brigade of the Serb Republic army's Drina Corps was presented in Vlasenica. [sentence as heard]

[Ratko Mladic, Serb Republic army commander, seen reviewing the troops] God bless you, heroes!

[Troops reply] God bless you!

[Mladic] I remember the hard days of 1992 when I was outflanking the enemy lying in ambush to review a brigade much like this one. Sometimes we would bury 200 or more of our inhabitants here, children and old people.... The blind international community and unfortunately also many blind men in our midst, as well as those of the Orthodox religion, refuse to see this! Our youth and their lives, the sons of many mothers who gave their only son, or two, three, or four sons for this country, we have survived in our homeland, although almost half the international community pounced on so few of us here.

People, army, only we are responsible for our destiny! And as long as we are alive, we will defend and succeed in defending our graves and our homes! [applause, cheers]

Indeed, peace was agreed in Dayton, but many who had different plans are now thinking how to implement it. [sentence as heard] It is hard to understand that those who were recently dropping 1,000- or 2,000-kg bombs and missiles on us can, after this ambiguous document that legalizes the occupation of this territory, expect mourning Serb mothers to think otherwise. However, regardless of that, we will, both as a nation and as an army, and as the state, we will do everything to uphold peace. But we warn that we cannot leave our people at the mercy of butchers and that a fair and peaceful solution must be found by the peace conference, especially for Sarajevo. [applause]

There are ways, there is a chance, there is reason. We have proved countless of times that we are a nation with whom one can talk, even at the most testing times. We will remain and survive in our homes, but only provided that we are united, not only as a people in this region, but as the Serbs on this earth.

[Radislav Krstic, identified by caption as Drina Corps commander, addressing the gathering] We will remember this year with the fact that the soldiers of the Drina Corps fought on all fronts in the Serb Republic, from Trebinje and Trnovo to Glamoc and Drvar, defending the people of Podrinje, (?Cirklja), and Romanija, defending the Serbs wherever they were threatened with extinction. Many of our soldiers gave their lives for this and we owe our victory to them. May their memory live! We must pledge to keep moving toward the goal for which they gave their lives. We must always bear that in mind, especially today, when we are forming the maneuvering brigade of the Drina Corps. The brigade is composed of the finest men of Podrinje, (?Birca), and Romanija, experienced soldiers who fought on many fronts. It is the core of an even mightier Serb Army, an army prepared to prevent any surprises and protect its people forever. In peacetime or at war, units of the Serb Republic army, throughout the Serb Republic, formed as maneuver brigades, will be able to efficiently protect the Serb nation and protect our young state, the Serb Republic.

[Legend, identified by caption as commander of the 1st Professional Brigade of the Drina Corps, addressing the gathering] We approach the days ahead of us in disbelief, for how can we trust those who are responsible for the suffering of the Serb nation. The Serb army

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But virtually no progress has been made over arrangements for restoring civilian rule, returning refugees to their homes and reconstructing the country even though Nato is only days away from sending in the troops.

"If there is no improvement soon Nato may have to take on a police force role, police training and the reconstruction of the country," said a senior Nato official. "It's not Nato's intention to become a provisional government. But we are not a heartless organisation, and one cannot turn one's back on civilian suffering.

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France's announcement that it is ending its 30-year boycott of Nato's military wing has been welcomed. But France is expected to use its new position to push for political control over the Bosnia intervention force through the North Atlantic Council, Nato's ruling body. This could bring it into conflict with the US. Germany also heralded a new relationship with Nato when the Bundestag approved sending up to 5,000 troops to Croatia in a support role.

French Sector 'Most Difficult'

AU0612203295 Paris AFP in English 1931 GMT 6 Dec 95

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"They must at least try to prevent a crisis" for these Serbs, said Jean Francois Deniau, an economist who has held several government posts.

Some 40,000 Serbs live in the Sarajevo area, according to the UN High Commissioner for Refugees, and many are threatening to fight or leave.

France and Russia have called for guarantees to protect Serbs living in Sarajevo, and U.S. Secretary of State Warren Christopher on Wednesday acknowledged that their fears must be taken into account as the peace accord is implemented.

The French sector, whose headquarters will be the divided southern city of Mostar, will also include Pale, the "capital" of the self-declared Serb Republic, and the Moslem enclave of Gorazde.

The U.S. sector will be headquartered in Tuzla, in the northeast, while the British will be based in central Gornji Vakuf.

Silajdzic Interviewed on 'Completed' Peace Talks

AU0712092695 Cologne Deutschlandfunk Network in German 0500 GMT 7 Dec 95

[Telephone interview with Bosnian Prime Minister Haris Silajdzic in Sarajevo by Wolfgang Labuhn in the Cologne studio on the evening of 6 December; Silajdzic answers in English with superimposed translation into German — recorded]

[FBIS Translated Text] [Labuhn] I asked Haris Silajdzic whether there would be new negotiations and concessions to the Serbs, as France and Russia had suggested in recent days.

[Silajdzic] There can be no new negotiations or concessions. Everything was completed in Dayton, Ohio. There are no new developments. If we need promises for the Serbs near Sarajevo, such guarantees are all the more necessary for those who were expelled from the suburbs of Sarajevo. There is disinformation about this subject. It is not true that the suburbs of Sarajevo are Serb; most of them are Bosniak-Muslim districts from which most people were regrettably expelled. It is strange indeed that war criminals, of all people, should talk about human rights, democracy, etc.

I understand that this is a cynical world and an era of history in which everything is possible. Nonetheless, those who killed 200,000 people in Bosnia and 10,000 people in Sarajevo, including 1,700 children, should not talk about human rights and democracy. We should remember, however, that we all live in the one state of Bosnia-Herzegovina, in which human rights apply equally to everyone.

The Serbs near Sarajevo do not need special protection. They will be taken care of by the same government that in the territory it controls has protected Serb Orthodox churches, schools, cemeteries, and the Serbs themselves.

[Labuhn] In central Bosnia, Croatian troops reportedly looted cities that are to be returned to the Serbs. Aren't the concerns of the Serbs in Sarajevo understandable?

[Silajdzic] Whatever is happening in central Bosnia is a reflection of what has been happening in Bosnia-Herzegovina in the past three and a half years. This should surprise no one. Regrettably such things are happening in this country. I do not yet have the details. I know that some houses were set on fire, that some Croats and Bosniak Muslims are worried and would like to leave. On the other hand, the manipulation regarding the Serbs near Sarajevo has reached almost historic dimensions, with some media acting worldwide also playing a big role. I have never seen such a thing before.

The suburbs are not so-called Serb suburbs, but Sarajevo where we all live together. In the four suburbs that have repeatedly been mentioned the Serbs did not form the majority. The majority there in the past were Bosniak Muslims, and those who are sitting in their apartments now should not have the right to talk about human rights and democracy.

[Labuhn] The Bosnian Serbs intend to hold a referendum on 12 December on the future status of the Serb suburbs of Sarajevo. Will their behavior jeopardize the planned signing of the peace agreement in Paris on 14 December?

[Silajdzic] I don't think so, because we talked to the representatives of the Serbs in Dayton, Ohio, and as I said, that is completed. The expression of the people's will in Bosnia is welcome, if it is really the political expression of a free opinion. This is not possible, however, since people were expelled from their homes. It would be the same if I expelled you from your home and then held a referendum on what should happen with the house that belongs to you. A referendum without the majority of the expelled inhabitants is, of course, absolutely pointless.

[Labuhn] What should be done with the Serb leaders Karadzic and Mladic? Can the peace agreement be signed in Paris while both are at large, even though they were accused of war crimes by the UN tribunal in The Hague?

[Silajdzic] I agree with you, and I think that the The Hague tribunal is in charge.

[Labuhn] Should they both be arrested?

[Silajdzic] As I said, the tribunal in The Hague should deal with this. This has nothing to do with the political process of Dayton, Ohio. The tribunal in The Hague should be absolutely independent. I hope at least that this will be so. In any case, we will accept their verdict, whatever they decide to do.

[Labuhn] Can you personally imagine peace in Bosnia as long as Karadzic and Mladic are at large?

[Silajdzic] No.

[Labuhn] Who should make sure they are arrested?

[Silajdzic] I think I have answered this question.

[Labuhn] The first few units of the international peace implementation force are now arriving in Bosnia. How dangerous will this mission be for the soldiers involved? Could there be fighting with the parties to the conflict?

[Silajdciz] These people are not coming to fight, they are coming for peace. We have a cease-fire now that must be changed into a stable peace. That is why we need these troops. But this does not mean that it is a risk-free operation. It is not a risk- free operation, but the continuation of the war would be much riskier. The fires in Bosnia must be extinguished before they spread to the dry wood of the former world of communism.

Sipovo, Mrkonjic Grad Situation 'Deteriorated'

AU0612195695 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 6 Dec 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Following the initialing of the Dayton peace agreement, the situation in Mrkonjic Grad and Sipovo has deteriorated. This was stated at today's extraordinary session of the Government of the Republic and Federation of Bosnia-Herzegovina chaired by Prime Minister Haris Silajdzic. Due to a feeling of insecurity and distress, the remaining Bosniak and Croatian population has asked to be temporarily moved from the area.

Reviewing the current situation in Mrkonjic Grade, the government stressed that until the arrival of IFOR forces, the people must be given firm guarantees that they will stay in their homes, or, in accordance with their wishes, they must be safely moved to the free territories in the Republic.

The government concluded that the decision was to be made on the spot after a concrete investigation into the situation on the ground, which will be carried out jointly by Muharem Cero, minister for refugees and social policy, and representatives of the Army, the Interior Ministry, and the Croatian Defense Council.

Mladic Addresses Drina Corps on Peace Accord

AU0612200395 Banja Luka Srpska Televizija in Serbo-Croatian 2005 GMT 5 Dec 95

[Report by Zeljko Stojanovic from the "Defending Our Country" program]

[FBIS Translated Text] Created from the experience of youth, which is the most valuable synthesis of the soldier's job as adapted to the specific circumstances of the Serb Republic and to what lies ahead, the first professional brigade of the Serb Republic army's Drina Corps was presented in Vlasenica. [sentence as heard]

[Ratko Mladic, Serb Republic army commander, seen reviewing the troops] God bless you, heroes!

[Troops reply] God bless you!

[Mladic] I remember the hard days of 1992 when I was outflanking the enemy lying in ambush to review a brigade much like this one. Sometimes we would bury 200 or more of our inhabitants here, children and old people.... The blind international community and unfortunately also many blind men in our midst, as well as those of the Orthodox religion, refuse to see this! Our youth and their lives, the sons of many mothers who gave their only son, or two, three, or four sons for this country, we have survived in our homeland, although almost half the international community pounced on so few of us here.

People, army, only we are responsible for our destiny! And as long as we are alive, we will defend and succeed in defending our graves and our homes! [applause, cheers]

Indeed, peace was agreed in Dayton, but many who had different plans are now thinking how to implement it. [sentence as heard] It is hard to understand that those who were recently dropping 1,000- or 2,000-kg bombs and missiles on us can, after this ambiguous document that legalizes the occupation of this territory, expect mourning Serb mothers to think otherwise. However, regardless of that, we will, both as a nation and as an army, and as the state, we will do everything to uphold peace. But we warn that we cannot leave our people at the mercy of butchers and that a fair and peaceful solution must be found by the peace conference, especially for Sarajevo. [applause]

There are ways, there is a chance, there is reason. We have proved countless of times that we are a nation with whom one can talk, even at the most testing times. We will remain and survive in our homes, but only provided that we are united, not only as a people in this region, but as the Serbs on this earth.

[Radislav Krstic, identified by caption as Drina Corps commander, addressing the gathering] We will remember this year with the fact that the soldiers of the Drina Corps fought on all fronts in the Serb Republic, from Trebinje and Trnovo to Glamoc and Drvar, defending the people of Podrinje, (?Cirklja), and Romanija, defending the Serbs wherever they were threatened with extinction. Many of our soldiers gave their lives for this and we owe our victory to them. May their memory live! We must pledge to keep moving toward the goal for which they gave their lives. We must always bear that in mind, especially today, when we are forming the maneuvering brigade of the Drina Corps. The brigade is composed of the finest men of Podrinje, (?Birca), and Romanija, experienced soldiers who fought on many fronts. It is the core of an even mightier Serb Army, an army prepared to prevent any surprises and protect its people forever. In peacetime or at war, units of the Serb Republic army, throughout the Serb Republic, formed as maneuver brigades, will be able to efficiently protect the Serb nation and protect our young state, the Serb Republic.

[Legend, identified by caption as commander of the 1st Professional Brigade of the Drina Corps, addressing the gathering] We approach the days ahead of us in disbelief, for how can we trust those who are responsible for the suffering of the Serb nation. The Serb army has fought a defensive war and always wanted peace. The forming of the Drina Corps maneuver brigade and future professional units are our best guarantee for preserving peace, with stable and safe demarcation lines with the Croat-Muslim Federation. The Serb army must be prepared for every situation. [end recording]

Lieutenant General Ratko Mladic, the Serb Republic army commander in chief, awarded meritorious soldiers and unit commanders of the first professional brigade of the Drina Brigade with war pennants [ratne zastave] under which those young men fought to win a state for their nation.

A march-past and a presentation of training and ability ended the review of the first professional brigade of the Serb army Drina Corps created for the future of the Serb Republic.

Serb General: 'We Respect' Decision on Sarajevo

AU0712112295 Sarajevo OSLOBODJENJE (Bosnian Serb) in Serbo-Croatian 6 Dec 95 p 3

[Unattributed report: "I Will Respect the Decisions of the State Leadership"]

[FBIS Translated Text] General Dragomir Milosevic, commander of the Sarajevo-Romanija Corps of the Serb Army, has held talks with Milorad Katic, president of the War Presidency of Novo Sarajevo, on the current military-security situation in this part of Serb Sarajevo. Commenting on the Dayton Agreement and the signature of Slobodan Milosevic, head of the Serbian negotiating team, with which Serb Sarajevo has been ceded to the Croat-Muslim federation, General Milosevic stressed that he would respect the political decision of the Serb Republic's political leadership.

"I said what needed to be said and did what needed to done. At this moment there are no words with which I could address the people and the army, except that we are waiting and that we respect the political decision of the state leadership," Gen. Milosevic told SRNA.

Sarajevo Serbs 'Appeal' to World on Peace Accord

AU0712112195 Sarajevo OSLOBODJENJE (Bosnian Serb) in Serbo-Croatian 6 Dec 95 p 1

["Appeal to the International Community From Ilidza"]

[FBIS Translated Text] We citizens of the Serb Sarajevo appeal to the whole peace-loving world to support us in our just demand to live as free people in our native city. During the past four years of war, the citizens of Serb Sarajevo have preserved the area in which they have been living for centuries. For this we paid too high a price, over 12,500 dead and a huge number of wounded and disabled. Our ancestors founded this city and we have no other home. It is not human to take away from us our own city and to impose on us authorities that have been killing, persecuting, and depriving us of our right to freedom for the past four years.

The initials of Dayton deprive us of everything. The Sarajevo Serbs, exactly 142,000 of us, are asked to do the impossible, namely to move somewhere where there is nothing to live from, somewhere where neither the past nor future exist. We do not even know what they want from us or what they plan to do with us. Nevertheless, we want peace! We want our Sarajevo, Serb Sarajevo, and the Serb authorities. Correct the mistake in the name of peace, freedom, democracy, and human dignity so that we can all turn to the future, development, and prosperity.

Correct the mistake in the name of conscience, as all of you will be responsible for a possible new war and the suffering of all the people in this area. We are not giving up our city, our homes, the graves of our children and ancestors, our cultural heritage, and our places of worship. Do not take our freedom and peace! Are we asking too much?

Sarajevo Serb Leader Wants 'Mostar-Type Solution'

LD0612190795 Belgrade SRNA in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 6 Dec 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Belgrade, 6 Dec (SRNA) — Nedeljko Prstojevic, president of the Ilidza war presidency, has said in an interview to TELEGRAF that the Serb side would have been satisfied had Serb Sarajevo been declared in Dayton to be a district [distrikt] or exterritorial entity on the model of Washington.

"A district would be an option that would suit the Serbs, and I do not know why our delegation failed to pick this up and accept it," Prstojevic explained in an interview to the Belgrade weekly.

According to him, the Serbs wanted to accept a solution such as was found at Dayton for the status of Mostar. "We accept a Mostar-type solution, we accept a district, but we cannot accept entry into a Muslim state, as this would lead to total emigration," Prstojevic noted.

He said there had been two suicides by people protesting in Serb Sarajevo against the Dayton maps.

The implementation of the Dayton agreement regarding Sarajevo would inflict enormous economic damage on the Serbs because the economies of Vogosca, Ilijas, Ilidza, Rajlovac and Hadzici [all near Sarajevo] can employ over 50,000 people, Prstojevic concluded.

Pale Serbs Demand Change in Sarajevo Provisions

AU0612191895 Banja Luka Srpski Radio Network in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 5 Dec 95

[FBIS Translated Text] The assembly of the Serb city of Sarajevo has sent an open letter to presidents and prime ministers of the EU member countries, Spain as EU chairman, the UN secretary general, and the presidents of the FRY, Serbia, and Montenegro, in which they point out that an unjust solution to the issue of Serb Sarajevo may threaten the entire Dayton agreement. Here is an excerpt from the letter:

"We would like to express our gratitude for the efforts made towards peace in the former Bosnia-Herzegovina, but we would also like to point out a detail from the Dayton agreement that may ruin both your and our hopes for peace. The solution offered for the territory and citizens of Serb Sarajevo may result in tragic consequences on a large scale. We were born on this Serb land, have acquired and preserved our property, and defended ourselves from [words indistinct]. Someone is trying to take this away from us (?without our consent), asking us to turn a blind eye. We can neither understand this nor obediently accept it. We ask you to prevent our collective tragedy in time. No effort should be spared in that. Let the peace also bring peace into our hearts and souls. Sincerely hoping that you want peace just as we do, we appeal to you to make that peace complete and more just for the citizens of Serb Sarajevo. It is going to be easier for us to preserve a peace that is more just," says the letter signed by the president of the assembly of Serb Sarajevo, Dr. Vojislav Maksimovic.

Enclosed with the letter addressed to international and FRY leaders was a declaration passed by the assembly of the Serb city of Sarajevo on 4 December 1995, as well as the announcement appealing to the citizens of Serb Sarajevo to decide whether they accept the status of Sarajevo as defined by the Dayton agreement through a referendum, which is the most democratic way.

Sarajevo Serb Threatens 'Guerrilla Warfare'

AU0712163695 Belgrade TELEGRAF in Serbo-Croatian 6 Dec 95 pp 22, 35

[Interview with Nedeljko Prstojevic, president of Sarajevo Ilidza Municipality, by Goran Rosic; place and date not given: "Prstojevic: If Sarajevo's Status Is Not Changed, Serbs Are Not Going To Remain There To Be Slaughtered"]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] [Rosic] There have been reports recently that groups of people from Serb Sarajevo are leaving the capital, unhappy with the fact that, according to the Dayton map, their homes will belong to the Muslim-Croat Federation. How much truth there is in these reports?

[Prstojevic] It is absolutely true. People here are disappointed, confused, and shocked by all that happened in Dayton. The local roads have been terribly crowded as traffic has been intensified from Sarajevo toward regions at Romanija, Pale, Lukavica, and other parts of the Serb entity. People are trying to find houses anywhere in other parts of the Serb Republic [RS], probably even at the other side of the Drina River. Those who want to move, also want to take with them coffins with the remains of their nearest. The people certainly do not want to leave their dead in land that, according to the Dayton map, should belong to the Muslims.

Visiting me at the moment is a delegation of war disabled and families of fallen fighters. They demand to be received at Pale by Mr. Krajisnik because they want the bodies of their slain relatives exhumed. Two people even committed suicide in protest against the fact that according to the Dayton map, Sarajevo should belong to the Muslims. These cases were registered in Vogosca and Grbavica. Also registered was the torching of houses; and a few days ago a funeral that should have been held in Ilidza was held in Uzice.

[Rosic] In reply to Serb demands that the question of the status of Sarajevo be opened again before the peace agreement is signed in Paris, people in Washington say that such a thing is out of question.

[Prstojevic] If 120,000 citizens of Serb Sarajevo start moving, if the Serbs are endangered, there will be a "chance" of a guerrilla war following. And in that case, fighting will be waged against the U.S. Army as well! It happened recently that secondary-school children tried to overturn a Rapid Reaction Force transporter with their bare hands. The soldiers did not known what to do as they could not shoot at young boys! Fortunately, the boys were not harmed. Therefore, there will be guerrilla warfare! All options are possible and there will be guerrilla warfare not only in Sarajevo, but in all territories of the Serb entity. If the Serbs set off from here, then the NATO forces will be attacked [tuci] in other territories, wherever they appear. There will certainly be a lot of problems, because the Serbs from Sarajevo and Ilidza will never forget their homes, the land that has belonged to them for centuries, they will not forget that they were unjustly moved from their homes.

[Rosic] As you say, Serbs will inevitably come into conflict with U.S. soldiers. How will the Americans react?

[Prstojevic] Everything will happen! Even if there is no guerrilla warfare, individual excesses will break out. The Americans will also be in a situation to get killed!

[Rosic] Do you think that they might be facing a guerrilla scenario like the one used by the Vietnamese?

[Prstojevic] Something of the kind. Therefore, they bombed us just as they did the Vietnamese, but so far, we have shown restraint, we did not attack them.

[Rosic] As head of one of the Sarajevo municipalities that should belong to the Muslim-Croat Federation, did you talk with representatives of the delegation that represented the RS in Ohio?

[Prstojevic] They say that the arrangement for Sarajevo was made without them being told. They also say that they did not see the detailed Sarajevo maps, and they could not tell me, for instance, to whom the Famos Works will belong. They say that there are still no precise maps.... I do not know what I am to think about people who do not know such details.

[Rosic] What solution for Sarajevo would satisfy the Serbs?

[Prstojevic] They would be satisfied with a district. That solution was presented in Dayton before. A district is the other variant that absolutely suited the Serbs, and I do not know why our delegation had no sensitivity and consideration to feel and accept that. I am not competent enough to criticize Slobodan Milosevic, but I am competent to criticize representatives of our delegation, who did their job poorly in Dayton.

[Rosic] What was the basis of the solution that envisaged the formation of the district of Sarajevo?

[Prstojevic] That envisaged nine municipalities with local administrations. According to that solution, Sarajevo would be neither Serb nor Muslim. It envisaged a joint parliament as well, somewhat narrower, somewhat as it used to be before the war. We would easily establish cooperation, balance, and peace with the local Muslims, and that could function in a quite a satisfactory way.

[Rosic] What do representatives of the RS delegation say, why they did not accept such a solution?

[Prstojevic] They do not really have very many correct answers. They even feel that they are not obliged to give too many answers.

[Rosic] What other solution would be acceptable to the Sarajevo Serbs, apart from the district?

[Prstojevic] We would also accept the solution that was found in Dayton for the status of Mostar. Mostar used to be one municipality and now is divided into six municipalities. We accept the Mostar solution, but we shall not agree to belong to the Muslim state. In that case, a total evacuation will follow!

[Rosic] Following Dayton, meetings and demonstrations are being held in Serb Sarajevo every day. How do the people react?

[Prstojevic] The people are saying that they cannot stay on the territory of Serb Sarajevo if this variant remains, because they will be slaughtered! Alija Izetbegovic has recently repeatedly stated that all those people who were in the RS Army — and all of us here, able-bodied or not, were included in military units whenever Muslim offensives started — will be arrested! Therefore, every male older than 18 would have to move; only women and children would stay here. This is why I claim that nobody here will wait for the Muslim army and police. [passage omitted]

SDA Dismisses Serb Referendum on Sarajevo

AU0712163995 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 7 Dec 95

[Report by Miralem Kruskic on an SDA news conference in Sarajevo on 7 December — recorded]

[FBIS Translated Text] [Kruskic] The issue that has characterized the situation in Bosnia-Herzegovina, the issue that has been attracting attention, has been the behavior of Karadzic's Serbs in the temporarily occupied Sarajevo districts of Ilijas, Ilidza, Hadzici, Vogosca, Pale, and a few other places, and their attempts to force changes in the Dayton agreement, Mr. Ismet Grbo said.

The response by the Party of Democratic Action [SDA] to this is that there will be no changes to the Dayton agreement because there is not a single valid argument for changing it. Everything points to the fact that the Dayton agreement will be signed in Paris on 14 December. The attempts by Karadzic's Serbs to force a change, particularly by calling a referendum, are farcical.

The statements given by the criminal Karadzic himself are immoral, confused, and contradictory.

[Grbo] For example, his statements on the French pilots and his claim that his regime does not know where these pilots are, and then he tells the French that they will get their pilots in exchange for a favor, all this speaks volumes about the morality and consistency of his policy. This can serve as a warning that the Pale regime is playing on the card of using the small splits that have appeared among the European partners to create a rift to achieve its own aims, such as to avoid The Hague Tribunal and its consequences.

[Kruskic] Mr. Grbo and SDA Central Committee Chairman Numic also addressed tomorrow's very important top level meeting between the SDA and the Croatian Democratic Community. They will be discussing the Dayton agreement and its implementation. They are not expected to discusses personnel changes, but organizational structures and schemes, as well as other topics of interest. Considering the high level of the delegations, progress is expected in these talks.

Banja Luka Parties Oppose Referendum

AU0612153495 Belgrade POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian 6 Dec 95 p 14

[Unattributed report: "The Socialists, League of Communists-Movement for Yugoslavia, and Liberals Are Against Sarajevo Referendum"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Banja Luka — Today, Dragutin Ilic, president of the Socialist Party of the Serb Republic, criticized the decision to hold a referendum in the Serb part of Sarajevo.

"With this act, the militant-minded leaders of the Serb people are indeed not helping the Serb people in Sarajevo, who need to be told that they will enjoy all the local autonomy rights and that there is no need for them to plan for the worst, the departure from their centuries-old homes," Ilic told the BETA agency.

He said that all three sides in Bosnia have the right to be dissatisfied with the territorial division, but that this did not mean that one can manipulate the feelings of the Serb people and promise something "that cannot be accomplished through any referendum."

A similar stand is also taken by Mico Carevic, leader of the League of Communists-Movement for Yugoslavia in Banja Luka. He takes the view that this amounts to the "manipulation of the Serb people" and that the outcome of the referendum is known in advance.

According to Carevic, endangering the Dayton Agreement would create conditions for the conflicts to again flare up, and these would have "serious and far-reaching consequences" for the Serbs.

Miodrag Zivanovic, leader of the Banja Luka Liberals, has criticized the decision on the referendum, saying that the Pale leadership is prepared to give "much larger territories of the Serb Republic" only to "retain Serb Sarajevo."

Serb Military Describe Muslim 'Incursion'

AU0612195095 Banja Luka Srpska Televizija in Serbo-Croatian 1930 GMT 5 Dec 95

[Interview with several unidentified members of the Bosnian Serb military by Ozren Jorganovic from the Serb lines on the Ozren front, northern Bosnia-Herzegovina, on 5 December — recorded]

[FBIS Translated Text] [Unidentified studio announcer] The Muslims blatantly violated the cease-fire agreement on the Ozren front with an attempt at a reconnaissance-terrorist incursion into free Serb territory on Monday [4 December]. The attack was thwarted only thanks to the vigilance of the Serb defenders, who crushed the terrorists, killing one, wounding three, and capturing three Kalashnikov assault rifles.

[Jorganovic] A reconnaissance-terrorist incursion came from this direction, here on the Ozren front, with the goal of penetrating deep into our territory and carrying out a terrorist raid on the village of Poricina and part of Krtova. How did it happen?

[Soldier identified by screen caption as "Zoka"] They were spotted in time. Our men reacted quickly and eliminated them. One of them died, two or three were wounded, while the rest dispersed leaving their weapons behind. We got the one who was killed and found identification papers on him. You can see that they are trained, adequately dressed, and equipped with foreign weapons. There is nothing much else to tell.

[Jorganovic] Did you notice during the attack that there were a few mujahidin among the members of this reconnaissance-terrorist group?

[Zoka] Yes, there were. You can see that from their insignia and they wore some kind of scarves, beards....

[Jorganovic] Was there any provocation from your side? Did you give them cause to attempt the incursion?

[Zoka] Not at all. We have been observing the cease-fire agreement from day one. But we respond adequately to every enemy provocation.

[Jorganovic] Was this a fierce attack?

[Unidentified soldier] It was fierce and surprising that they decided to attack during the cease-fire. They started out with quite a strong group. You will see a man whom we captured. They are young, capable men, well trained and with good weapons.

[Jorganovic] UN military observers have been present in the area for a while now. Did they report on this incident, the most blatant one so far since the beginning of the cease-fire?

[Second unidentified soldier] They came to inspect the incident immediately after it had happened, took pictures, recorded all that they needed, and contacted observers on the other side, but later they were silent and claimed that they had no knowledge of enemy activity. However, all this was recorded....

[Jorganovic] The Ozren fighters are not getting complacent, although they are yearning for peace in this long-suffering Serb land. They are keeping a vigilant eye on the front line, expecting to become, instead of warriors at war, warriors in peacetime, who are commonly called border guards.

Soljic: Provision on Posavina 'Serious Wound'

AU0612204295 Zagreb HRVATSKI OBZOR in Serbo-Croatian 4 Dec 95 pp 12-13

[Interview with Vladimir Soljic, deputy in the Croatian Assembly and "defense minister" of Herzeg-Bosnia, by Mladenka Saric; place and date not given: "It Has Nothing to Do With Herzegovina"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Herzeg-Bosnia Defense Minister Vlado Soljic's seat in the Croatian Assembly has started under dramatic circumstances with the organized protest of refugees from Posavina in front of the parliament building. The bitterness following the initialing of the Dayton agreement, under which the territories of Bosanska Posavina, which have belonged to the Croats for centuries, will go to the Bosnian Serbs, has erupted with accusations of treason, that the region has been sold, and that their trust has been betrayed.

[Saric] What was your impression about the protest of the refugees from Bosanska Posavina? Nobody probably expected that the police would have to protect the deputies. What is your appraisal of the situation around Posavina and of the fact that it has gone to the Serbs?

[Soljic] Bosanska Posavina is a serious wound for us. It is a serious wound for all Croats, and not only for the people who lived there. But it is not a wound inflicted on the Croats by Croats, but a wound inflicted on the Croats by the Serb aggressor. And the international power-wielders want to keep that wound open to deepen the internal conflict among Croats, to divide us, and set us against one another, in which they are partially succeeding. Among the protesters there were also agents provocateurs, who were putting the Posavina problem in the context of Herzegovina. It has nothing to do with Herzegovina, because Herzegovina could not and cannot be a subject for negotiation. Besides, I daresay, many people do not want Herzegovina. Even our enemies do not want us. A long time ago, even Seselj offered us secession and, unfortunately, nor Alija Izetbegovic, our president of Bosnia-Herzegovina, has not shown any interest in us. Therefore, Herzegovina could not be a currency in which to trade over Posavina. The former Yugoslavia had a hostile attitude toward Herzegovina, the UDBA [State Security Administration] applied the same treatment, while on average every Croat from Herzegovina has served a year in prison for Croatia and there is no house in Herzegovina that has not given at least one life for Croatia. This is why Herzegovina is always being accused of something.

[Saric] The people from Posavina were shouting accusations about the idea, saying that there had been a fraud and a sale. How do you comment on this? What are the reactions to Kresimir Zubak's resignation?

[Soljic] It is known who is answerable and any kind of getting out of it should have been announced earlier. I myself would not have gone with the delegation, if I had not been ready to accept what the delegation head, the leader of our nation, accepted. That is the ABC of politics, and if one is not aware of that, one should not be in it.

[Saric] However, stories about agreement on the division of Bosnia have surfaced once again.

[Soljic] I have had an opportunity to talk to the U.S. representatives and their reasons are completely different from ours. Money is important to them, not the historical differences between the Serbs, Muslims, and Croats. The Croats are the only ones who are ready for coexistence based upon equality. There have been many manipulations with all this.

[Saric] What do you think about the war crimes charges against Kordic, Blaskic, and the other four Croats?

[Soljic] It is hard to say anything against The Hague Tribunal. But the world is ruled by interests. I think that everybody should take responsibility for a crime that he has committed, but there are cases when defending one's own life and one's own people is interpreted as a crime.

[Saric] There is the impression of different treatment by Croatia for various parts of the Croatian nation in Bosnia- Herzegovina. This refers particularly to the somewhat privileged position of the Croats from Herzegovina. How serious are the disagreements among the Croats in Bosnia-Herzegovina? People often mention divisions.

[Soljic] There are no substantial differences and Croatian unity has never been greater than in this war. I think that this has crucially influenced the results achieved by the Croats, as the least numerous nation in Bosnia-Herzegovina. Objectively, history has done its task, the enemies of Croatia their tasks, which reflected badly on the distribution of nations. [sentence as published] The shape of the Republic of Croatia and the scattered nature of the Croats in Bosnia-Herzegovina has resulted in objectively different interests. For us in Herzegovina, a nationally compact Croatian area, geographically connected to the state of Croatia, and divided by an unnatural border that goes through the middle of a field, there is nothing more important and more acceptable than to belong to the Croatian state. Unlike, for example, the Croats from Tuzla, Sarajevo, or other regions, who are aware that, in such circumstances, they cannot belong to the Croatian state. In spite of this, an enviable degree of unity has been achieved. All the enemies of this have been trying to sow the seeds of dissent as one can also see when Bosanska Posavina is in question.

[Saric] The election to parliament of representatives of the diaspora has provoked and is still provoking argument. What do you think about this?

[Soljic] There are different interpretations, but I think that the time has finally come for all Croats to be in one place and there is no place more sacred than parliament. It is a great honor for us from the diaspora to be able to influence the decisions that are being made. Of course, it will not be any major influence, but it is obvious that the Croatian state has obligations to us. It is exactly the same whether we are in America or in Bosnia-Herzegovina.

Army Has 'No Intention' of Relinquishing Brcko

AU0612162095 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 6 Dec 95

[Report by Enes Osmancevic on a news conference by the Social Democratic Party of Bosnia-Herzegovina in Tuzla on 6 Dec — recorded]

[FBIS Translated Text] The population of the free Brcko territory is dissatisfied with the Dayton decision that the fate of Brcko should be decided through arbitration; all the more so, as all previous peace proposals had envisaged the town as part of the free territories and as Bosnia-Herzegovina's access to the Sava River, Mssrs. Sinanagic, Dzapo, and Ribic stressed today, as did citizens of the municipality's free territory.

Brcko is the largest Bosniak town, with its absolute Bosniak majority according to the last census, to have remained under the control of Karadzic's Serbs and genocide has been committed against its citizens. Over 7,000 Bosniaks have been killed, over 10,000 people have spent time in concentration camps, and there is no longer a trace of Bosniak life or culture in Brcko, Mirsad Dzapo said.

Reiterating that four-fifths of private property, that is, the land and houses, belong to Bosniaks, Dzapo asked what would happen if after a year, the decision of the arbiters is not positive. Denying the Bosniaks access to the Sava River means isolating them from Europe, Dr. Mustafa Sinanagic said, and concluded that this actually meant the imposition of sanctions against Bosnia- Herzegovina, thus making the Bosniaks directly dependent on their neighbors.

That is why Dr. Sinanagic believes that the Presidency and Government of Bosnia-Herzegovina should urgently define concrete tasks pertaining to preparations and the carrying out of the arbitration.

Brcko must belong to all Brcko citizens, Adem Ribic said, and stressed that the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army controls 73 percent of the municipality's territory, and that it has no intention of giving up the remaining parts. The problem can be solved either politically or militarily, Ribic said. That is why the Social Democratic Party [SDP] of Bosnia-Herzegovina insists on creating a political atmosphere that will allow the arbiters to make the right decision. We do not advocate broaching territorial issues in the Dayton agreement, but, if they are broached, we demand that Brcko be granted the status of a town under an international protectorate, Mirsad Dzapo said.

At the end of today's regular SDP press conference, Zlatko Dukic, chairman of the party's cantonal commission, expressed surprise at the Croatian Democratic Community's proposals to nominate Jadranko Prlic and Vladimir Soljic for offices in the future federal government.

Serbs Claim Croat Cease-Fire Violations

AU0612191995 Banja Luka Srpski Radio Network in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 5 Dec 95

[FBIS Translated Text] The command of the Serb forces in Bileca report today that Croatian Army units have again violated the cease- fire agreement on the Trebinje part of the Herzegovina front. They used small arms to fire in the Trebinje Forest [Trebinjska Suma] area. However, there were no casualties among the members of the Herzegovina Corps of the army of the Serb Republic.

The report states that this fire was not returned and that the members of the Herzegovina Corps abided by the cease-fire agreement.

Bosnian Serbs Say Fighting Abated in Southeast

LD0612114495 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1133 GMT 6 Dec 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Bileca, Dec 6 (TANJUG) — The Bosnian Serb Army Command said on Wednesday in Bileca that fighting has finally abated in southeast Bosnia after almost daily Croatian and Muslim attacks.

The warring sides are fully respecting the ceasefire agreement and the situation in all parts of the front is quiet on Wednesday, the Bosnian Serb Army said.

The representatives of the armed forces of the Bosnian Serbs, Croats and Muslims on October 12 agreed to stop all fighting until a final peace in Bosnia is agreed.

SRNA on Muslim Reaction to Croat Appointments

LD0712100695 Belgrade SRNA in Serbo-Croatian 0422 GMT 7 Dec 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Sarajevo, 7 Dec (SRNA) — The latest personnel changes in the leadership of the Croat Republic of Herzeg-Bosnia are causing numerous Muslim complaints, and concern for the future of relations with their partners in the Bosnia-Herzegovina Federation.

Representatives of the Social-Democratic Party [SDP], which is the second largest party in the Bosnian Muslim parliament, expressed their dissatisfaction in Tuzla yesterday with the proposal of the Croat Republic of Herzeg-Bosnia that Jadranko Prlic and Vladimir Soljic be appointed to key posts in the so-called Croat-Muslim federation.

"Prlic recently said on Croatian television that in Bosnia-Herzegovina he was implementing a policy to promote, and was fighting for, the interests of the Croatian state," Zlatko Dugic, a member of the SDP presidency, said, and asked: "How can they propose him for the federation's foreign minister, then?"

For Dugic it is an odd proposal that Soljic, who was recently elected to the Republic of Croatia's parliament as a representative of the diaspora, should be the federation's prime minister.

Muslim officials are expressing particular concern over the election of Ivan Bender to the post of president of the Herzeg-Bosnia presidential council, and Ivo Lozancic as head of the Croatian Democratic Union, as they consider them to be the most extreme Croats in Bosnia-Herzegovina.

The Muslims see Bender and Lozancic as the leaders of the faction on the Herzeg-Bosnia political scene which, they say, has been provoking bloody Muslim-Croat clashes in Herzegovina and central Bosnia.

The Muslim media has been warning that the return of this so-called hard-line Herzegovina faction to the helm of Herzeg-Bosnia is in fact a message from Croatian President Franjo Tudjman, who wishes to make it known that the Croats are not reckoning on a life together with the Muslims.

Serbs Demand BBC Apology for 'Misinformation'

LD0612161195 Belgrade SRNA in Serbo-Croatian 1623 GMT 6 Dec 95

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] Sarajevo, 6 Dec (SRNA) — Miroslav Toholj, Serb Republic minister of information, has voiced a public protest against BBC because of an attribution to SRNA of a fabricated BETA report on the alleged rift within the Serb Republic leadership.

The independent Belgrade-based BETA news agency carried a report on the alleged rift within the Serb Republic leadership, quoting anonymous sources; BBC used it for its news service, quoting SRNA.

"As BBC does not trust BETA as a reliable source, it attributed the report to SRNA. As the minister of information, I am voicing a public protest and will demand denial and apology," Toholj stressed.

In a statement to SRNA, the Serb Republic minister of information added that "daily misinformation by BETA is damaging and compromising for the journalistic profession;" he added that "this is rather journalistic amateurism than intentional malice."

Quoting sources close to the Serb Republic leadership, SRNA news agency yesterday denied the BETA news agency report. [passage omitted]

Tripartite Police Force Begins Operating

AU0612173595 Paris AFP in English 1640 GMT 6 Dec 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Zagreb, Dec 6 (AFP) — A tripartite force of Croatian, Bosnian and Turkish troops began policing Wednesday [6 December] the northwest Bosnian town of Velika Kladusa to encourage the return of some 20,000 rebel Moslem refugees in Croatia.

"The force has been stationed there to help create safe conditions for the return of refugees from Velika Kladusa," the United Nations said in a communique.

The refugees fled to Croatia last summer following a Croat and Bosnian offensive on their area and since then have been living at the makeshift Kupljensko camp located 60 kilometers (36 miles) south of Zagreb.

Most hail from Velika Kladusa, the stronghold of breakaway Moslem leader Fikret Abdic, and have refused to return to their homes for fear of retaliation by Bosnians who regard them as traitors.

However, under an agreement reached last month between the Croatian and Bosnian Governments, the multinational force is to "help create safe conditions" for their return. The force is made up of 100 uniformed Bosnian officers, 50 Croatians and 50 Turks.

The UN statement said a 65-vehicle convoy of 600 refugees from the Kupljensko camp voluntarily returned to Velika Kladusa on Monday on board carts, tractors, cars and buses. They were escorted by Croatian police and personnel from the UN High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR).

However, once they arrived at their destination, some 500 people who had turned out to greet them in the town center were prevented from doing so by local police, the communique said.

The United Nations said another convoy of 200 people left the Kupljensko camp on Tuesday.

The statement added that more than 3,000 refugees had left the camp in recent weeks and between 15,000 to 17,000 remain there.

UN High Commissioner for Refugees Sadako Ogata said here Tuesday that her agency was particularly concerned about the fate of the refugees and was doing everything possible to help them get through the harsh winter months.

According to the UNHCR, some 800,000 people fled the conflict in Bosnia to neighboring Croatia and Serbia, while an additional 700,000 became exiles in other European countries.

Army Discloses Evidence of War Crimes for Hague

LD0212234395 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1900 GMT 2 Dec 95

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] Fresh evidence for the International Court in The Hague was collected during the liberation of Mt. Ozren. The information and documents which you will see provide irrefutable evidence about those who carried out and gave the orders for the massacre in Tuzla committed on 25 May this year.

[Unidentified correspondent] To answer for those young people of Tuzla who in one moment on the evening of 25 May died in a horrific manner at Tuzlanska Kapija [district of Tuzla], the courtroom of the Hague tribunal will need another bench. The Chetnik captain Djordjo Petkovic, who at that time was in command of the artillery of the Second Ozren brigade, will have to give evidence one day on whether he acted alone or on someone's orders when he gave the order that night to fire a 130 millimeter caliber cannon on the youth of Tuzla, on the town and civilians. He knew very well that there were no military targets there.

Alongside him should appear the person who was commander at the time when the map which you see this evening was drawn up of the artillery, then second lieutenant and later lieutenant, Mladen Popovic. As early as 29 April 1994, according to the plan of action for the artillery known as the Flame [plamen], he drew up a detailed map of targets in Tuzla, Lukavac and some villages in the municipalities of Banovici and Zavidovici. [passage omitted]

Making up the trio of Chetnik criminals from Ozren on the bench of The Hague tribunal will certainly be Major Golub Panic, commander of the Second Brigade, who approved the map of identified civilian targets for the heavy artillery. Djordjo Petkovic, Mladen Popovic, and Golub Panic, if God's justice is done, will answer for 71 brutal murders and a further 150 injured young men and women from Tuzla, because the holy book of the Koran says that if you kill an innocent man it is as if you have killed the whole world, and the chetniks of Ozren, with just one grenade, killed 71 innocents — 71 times they killed the whole world.

The documents, thanks be to Allah, have been preserved. The fighters of the Second Corps of our army found them together with the chetnik cannon of the murderers when they liberated parts of Ozren. [passage omitted]

Official Views Indictments Against Bosnian Croats

AU0712092795 Split SLOBODNA DALMACIJA in Serbo-Croatian 16 Nov 95 pp 5-6

[Interview with Vladimir Soljic, minister of defense of the Croat Republic of Herzeg-Bosnia, by V. Vegar; place and date not given: "Blaskic Was Doing What He Had Been Ordered To Do"]

[FBIS Translated Text] We have been witnessing events that are exceptionally important for the future of the peoples and individuals who live in this area. They are primarily the Dayton peace talks and the intensive work of the prosecutors of the International War Tribunal in the Hague. These were the topics we discussed with the defense minister, deputy prime minister of the Croat Republic of Herzeg-Bosnia and member of the Presidential Council, Mr. Vladimir Soljic.

[Soljic] There have been many times we were happy or sad about various peace plans and maps for Bosnia-Herzegovina, from the (Cutilleiro) plan, which we have almost forgotten, the Vance-Owen plan and the Owen-Stoltenberg plan, and, finally, the plans that are now being defined in Dayton. When documents this important are being assessed, it is necessary to think things over, and perhaps sleep on it before comments and decisions are made. I believe that everyone who makes a public appearance should be correct and moderate in making statements and that they must not contribute to tensions, particularly when the issue is the process of establishing the Bosnia-Herzegovina Federation, since that is in the interest of both the Croat and the Muslim people.

Under Siege

[Vegar] The Croat side has been the most cooperative with the international community in the peace process. It has accepted the Dayton agreement on bringing the Federation to life and on the return of the refugees. At the same time, the news arrived from The Hague on indictments having been issued against high Croat officials. What is your view of that?

[Soljic] I would first like to say something about the agreements that were signed. There is nothing special there — the Croat position has not been made worse with these agreements; instead there remains enough space to bring the equality of the Croats in Bosnia-Herzegovina to life. The Government of the Croat Republic of Herzeg-Bosnia has accepted these agreements and made the decision that they be implemented. As far as the indictment against Darijo Kordic, Tihomir Blaskic, and the others is concerned, I would go back a little, since that is perhaps where the roots of what happened in this area are. The history of Croats is known to have been a bloody and difficult one; we had many bitter experiences in many things, including war crimes committed against Croats. Let us remember the killing of disarmed soldiers at the closing of World War II, the attacks and crimes of the Serb Army in the village of Ravno at the beginning of this war, or perhaps the destruction of Dubrovnik, a gem of the Mediterranean — not to talk about the crimes committed at Krizancevo Selo, Doljani, Trusina, Grabovica, Uzdol, and so on. As far as we know, no indictments have been issued against those responsible for those crimes!

[Vegar] One of the indicted by The Hague Tribunal is the former Chief of Staff of the Croat Defense Council [HVO], General Tihomir Blaskic. What can you tell us about General Blaskic and what he is being charged with?

[Soljic] I met general Blaskic in this war and I can say that he is, undoubtedly, a man of honor and a professional, who has gone through a lot of suffering himself — he lost his father, who was on the frontline at 60 years of age. His task was clear — to defend the Croat areas in Bosnia-Herzegovina, not to conquer. I can say that he carried out his task successfully. He had orders for everything he was doing. He was working according to plans, and he was issuing orders that those who are in charge can have insight into. What is particularly important to say about General Blaskic in this situation is that at the end of each order he demanded that the soldiers under his command act in accordance with international war law in everything they did. I would not like to discuss any of the others — other forums will do that, or else they will do so themselves — but, to my knowledge, they were similar to Blaskic. I should emphasize, though, that the people indicted lived and worked under very difficult war conditions at that time; they were under siege by the enemy who was much more powerful. It is therefore hard to believe that they were able to do what they are being blamed for, which is that they were committing crimes.

Croats Satisfied

[Vegar] Can the Croats in Bosnia-Herzegovina hope for a favorable outcome of this war?

[Soljic] I would like to appeal to the HVO soldiers to remain completely calm and to act only upon orders. Considering that we have a real army, which we have shown, they can guarantee complete safety of the Croat people in the Croat Republic of Herzeg-Bosnia, primarily the Croats in central Bosnia, who are the most upset. I repeat, we have never been an aggressive people, and we never conquered the territories of others. If someone committed crimes they should answer for them just like any member of any other people. Finally, I would like to say that the Croats, despite all the pressures, will survive on these territories. The guarantee for this is the success in conducting what has been, during these five years, generally speaking, Croat politics, as has been shown by the creation of the Croatian state and the control of 25 percent of the territory in Bosnia-Herzegovina, and by the facts that our demands were realistic did not collide with the demands of the international community. I think there is no reason for the Croats not to be satisfied in the end.

Commentary on Open Arms Market for Ex-Yugoslavia

AU0512150895 Zagreb VECERNJI LIST in Serbo-Croatian 2 Dec 95 p 17

[Commentary by Dario Barbalic: "There Will Be Airplanes"]

[FBIS Translated Text] The agreement signed at Wright-Patterson Air Base, cradle of the U.S. Air Force, as one in the series of mutually conditioned annexes has also brought a gradual lifting of the arms embargo for the entire area of the former Yugoslavia. It is obviously a concession made primarily toward the Bosniak government; however, it will result in smaller or larger consequences for the other states in that region. The creators of the agreement have incorporated in the negotiations some kind of armament limitation for the region into the process of lifting the embargo, but the procedure of the possible disarmament has not yet been explained, nor it is clear which factors will determine the largest quantity of individual kinds of weapons. The assumption is that they will try to apply the procedure similar to the one applied to establish a balance of conventional power in Europe (CFE agreement). However, that agreement, too, signed in 1990, that is at the time USSR still existed, does not satisfy all the sides today, so that recently (allegedly because of the newly risen situation) Russian generals have asked for its revision for the region of the Caucus hinterland.

Concern About Balance

The agreement specifically limits the quantity of individual kinds of weapons (warplanes, tanks, artillery pieces, etc.) or armed systems in the countries, and the quantity cannot be increased, although individual systems can be changed for more contemporary ones. And precisely this possibility of changing old weapons for new ones was the reason for the big sales of older type weapons in the richer countries, the NATO members, to the allies whose economies are not so strong (Greece and Turkey). The key to acceptability of the European agreement lies in the analysis of the geostrategic features of each country and the assessment of the sufficiency of the quantity of weapons for efficient defense.

During the course of negotiations it was very difficult to harmonize different stands of the U.S. and Russian strategists, who have always been overestimating the power of the systems owned by the opposite side and underestimating one's own (the Americans have been afraid of the number of Russian tanks, and the Russians have been afraid of the Western tactical Air Force). However, Russian generals are asking now for the revision of the agreement for the Caucus hinterland region, where they deem their forces insufficient due to the newly risen geopolitical situation. History, otherwise, knows several agreements, the final objective of which has been an attempt to provide peace in a certain way, but none of them has yielded desired results. It is less known that the League of Nations, at the time of Italian aggression on Ethiopia, declared the arms embargo on that country (which was respected) simultaneously with the oil embargo to Italy, which was never respected. However, it is clear that any agreement on the restriction of armament is, in fact, a product with a limited life, if there is not a strong warrantor for its implementation, at least in the shape of the balance of fear.

Who Needs What?

Lifting the arms embargo should be most useful to the weakest armed party, that is, the Bosnian Government, which will, first of all, try to get heavy artillery pieces, more precisely two types of weapons: middle-size artillery, 105mm caliber (or 122mm, if it is of eastern origin) and heavy 155mm howitzers in large quantities. It is possible that these weapons will be delivered by the friendly countries (Iran, Turkey, Pakistan, which have large stocks of weapons at their disposal). On the list, most certainly, there are also mobile multibarreled rocket launchers of middle- and long-range (up to 20 and 50 kilometers), tanks, heavy trucks to tow artillery pieces, field vehicles, portable antitank rocket systems, and in the future certainly some kinds of anti-aircraft systems. Otherwise, all these are armed systems which Croatia has succeeded to get, or produce, in the last four years, and which have essentially influenced the increase in the fire power and consequently the increase of the offensive capabilities of the Croatian Army. Only afterward the second step follows, that is, increase of the efficiency of individual armed systems by software linking and creating a better communication system, when mainly electronic devices and communications means are needed.

Finally the F-16?

Regarding Croatia, branches of the Armed Forces which have been most impeded in their development, because of the arms embargo, have been the Croatian Air Force and Navy, that is, the branches which mostly depend upon sophisticated electronic systems. Air Force commander General Imra Agotic and General Anton Tus have for four years been expressing their desire to purchase western-made aircraft (the most frequently mentioned has been one of the versions of the F-16, U.S. multipurpose fighter-bomber) which is now possible, at least on paper. The problem arises with the Americans, known for their very firm political and technological restrictions regarding export of their weapons while they are simultaneously both creators and supervisors of the agreement on the limitation of armament in the area of former Yugoslavia. Although the needs of HRZ [Croatian Air Force] can be estimated to three squadrons of the first line aircraft, along with a couple of training ones, which gives some 40 aircraft of this type, it is possible that in the beginning the number of aircraft sold to Croatia, because of the balance, will be conditioned by the number of similar Yugoslav aircraft (for the time being there are allegedly about 16 MiG-29's).

The price can always represent a restriction, because more contemporary versions of the F-16 cost up to $35 million each, along with the maintenance equipment and arms. True, it is possible to buy "second-hand" F-16A/B aircraft, priced at $7 million each, but there is still the question of spare parts and armament one gets with those aircraft. Other potential sellers, such as France, do not have such trade restrictions, so that this country has consciously entered a political and trade conflict with China because of several hundred [as published] dollars worth in 60 "mirage 2000" aircraft to Taiwan.

Interesting Swedish Market

However, some other countries as well, such as Sweden, have so- called restrictions to the export of arms into potential crisis centers. It was particularly conspicuous during the scandal regarding the delivery of 400 howitzers, which the "Bofors" company sold to India, which falls into the group of such countries (some authors associate that scandal with the murder of the Swedish Prime Minister Olaf Palme, but that has never been proved). Sweden is particularly interesting to Croatia, because the 9LV200 fire- directing systems, guns, and the RBS-15 ship-to-ship missiles (priced at almost $1 million each) on Croatian rocket gun-boats are of Swedish origin.

By lifting the arms embargo, the construction of new rocket gun-boats in Croatian shipyards could continue, and export-oriented construction is also possible. It is interesting to note that the Navy of so-called Yugoslavia could also be interested in the same equipment and missiles, because they have ships equipped with similar, but somewhat older Swedish fire-directing systems. Otherwise, Swedish military industry offers high-quality (but also expensive) products, like antitank rockets, mobile anti-aircraft rocket and artillery systems, howitzers, infantry combat vehicles, and excellent "Gripen" aircraft.

Russian Prices Are Lower

The Russian stand is very interesting. Russia was against lifting the arms embargo, although Russia itself is a big exporter of weapons. This can be explained by the fact that Russian weapon merchants respect any embargo of that kind not in the least, and for cash they are ready to sell even the most recent weapon systems. Without the embargo the Western companies nevertheless had to respect, Russian prices will have to drop. Nowadays, there is a lot of interest in Russian S-300 and S-300V anti-aircraft systems (two different systems), as well as in 2S6 "tunguska" mobile hybrid anti- aircraft system (a combination of 30mm four-barreled anti-aircraft gun and anti-aircraft rockets). Allegedly, both the Serbs and the Slovenes are interested in "tunguska," while the S-300 system is obviously intended for the Belgrade air defense.

Apart from the anti-aircraft rockets, Serbia will probably continue to strengthen its Air Force by purchasing new MiG-29's, and possibly new Russian combat helicopters. It all depends upon economic capabilities, because the Russians today ask exclusively for hard currency and do not agree to the exchange of goods and service for weapons. By the end of the eighties a part of the Russian debt to Yugoslavia was paid by the shipments of MiG-29 aircraft, and one can assume that so-called Yugoslavia will continue to import the major part of its arms from Russia. On the western side, the Slovenes have again been a step in front of all the others, by having established (at the time of the embargo) cooperation with Israel, with which they have negotiated, and then given up for economic reasons, an order of 6 to 12 "Kfir C2" fighter planes (Israeli version of "mirage"), as well as of the construction of smaller warships armed with sea-to-sea missiles.

Slovenia is also a potential exporter of military equipment, in particular of electronics (fire-directing systems for tanks, and communications equipment), and it could find its market once again among the countries which have appeared in the area of former Yugoslavia. The establishment of cooperation in in the field of military industry between Croatia and Slovenia in particular, is technologically logical (the turrets for M-48 tanks, for instance, were cast in Slovenia before the war), but everyday politics always meddles into this kind of business. What is absolutely certain for all the armies and states that have appeared in the territory of former Yugoslavia, is the fact that for a long time the major part of the present arms (regardless of new acquisitions) was basically of Soviet origin, which will essentially make any future arrangements with NATO more difficult, of course, for those who want that.

Article Examines Opposition Victory in Election

AU0712103095 Rijeka NOVI LIST in Serbo-Croatian 16 Nov 95 p 2

[Commentary by Drazen Vukov-Colic: "Taking Off HDZ's Democratic Mask in Zagreb"]

[FBIS Translated Text] This year's anniversary of the Croatian capital, which is today, will not be as pompous, festive, and joyful as last year, which marked the 900th anniversary of the "metropolis under Mount Medvednica," and certainly not as self-confident and self-contained as this City Assembly and this mayor expected two months ago. Indeed, on this occasion the "Lions" are donating another five-meter obelisk to the increasingly pharaonic city, and the city dignitaries are again awarding prizes and taking flowers to Medvedgrad [medieval town on the hills above Zagreb, recently restored and called "The Altar of the Homeland"], while the ordinary citizens may only take a free ride on the little tourist train through Miksa's [mayor of Zagreb] stone canyons [recently redone squares in Zagreb], but all this cannot inspire any sincere delight even in the most dedicated circles: the Zagreb voters have overthrown the former ruling circles, while those — under the frowning look of the Father of the Homeland [President Tudjman] — have still not found the magic formula for losing the election and yet staying in power. What is natural — and perhaps even desirable — in a city like Paris, Berlin, or Rome, is what Zagreb is only waiting for in very uncertain political fights, since the president of the republic himself can, intimately and politically, not accept the opposition's having power in the metropolis, as if sovereign Croatia can survive as an unquestionable state only within the framework of limited democratic sovereignty.

Not having succeeded in winning the expected majority at the self-imposed county and city election, the most powerful Croatian party can only prove its undoubted power in the most harmful way: by accusing the opposition of wanting to provoke a political crisis, while it is precisely the most powerful Croatian party that is imposing it as the only weapon for its own survival. At this moment, the only way the Croatian Democratic Community [HDZ] can survive in the most important and most numerous seats in the city and the county of Zagreb is by buying the political souls of others, by autocratically rejecting the elected mayors, or by scheduling a highly dubious election, each of these "political ways out" still boiling down to the policy of "the worse, the better," the expected bitter fruit of which will then be ascribed to the opposition. The opposition parties or alliances did not — or could not — do well for themselves in those Croatian cities in which they had already tasted power (Split, Osijek, Rijeka), since they had practically given up on everything in the fight with the much more powerful opponents (Osijek), succumbed to the bewitched pressure (Split), or dug their own graves (Rijeka), but the only way for the opposition to justify the success in Zagreb is for it to be able to prove it can learn from its own mistakes and work together while generously cooperating, and manage a city rather than rule a metropolis.

This is where the junction of the conflict lies: the party in power cannot understand that there is someone else who wants to cross the lines of ideological pragmatism, and has only the base stories about cheating to rely on as the only long-range political weapons. While they say the opposition is never able to coordinate among themselves within efficient authorities, the party in power is contesting — perhaps unconsciously and subconsciously — precisely what they were so proud of: their political philosophy is extremely eclectic, joining together bits and pieces within a general ideological and historical reconciliation, in which the self- proclaimed "broadness" was not at all in their way while they were very rigidly exercising power. Why should there be a Racan [president of the Social Democratic Party], Tomcic [president of the Croatian Peasant Party], Dzapic [president of the Croatian Party of Rights], or Paraga [president of the Croatian Party of Rights 1861] if it is precisely the HDZ that has already taken all the best from Hebrang, Radic, or Starcevic? Does Croatia need any other parties at all, considering that the HDZ has already sucked in everything that Croatia has been and everything it can be?

And so it is precisely this Zagreb conflict that has best shown that the HDZ is most afraid of new and broad political gatherings that the new opposition coalitions have announced with this national and local election success: the HDZ wants to remain the only umbrella under which all the devout Croats are to gather, while the others, who support "the unity of diversity" on new and more contemporary foundations, are by no means to be allowed to establish themselves in a city way in the city of Zagreb. Such movements as the party in power can only survive if they put the politically suitable above the politically able and discipline on the top above difference of opinion. This Zagreb opposition alliance has proved to be cunning enough to be able to point its finger at just this kind of autocratic disfigurement and sneering greed, which no democratic masks can conceal. Hence the many stories about cheating, which can still not conceal the fact that the voters in the metropolis have politically cuckolded the former city power-wielders.

Designation of FYROM Islamic Party Changed

96P20132A Skopje FLAKA E VELLAZERIMIT in Albanian 22 Nov 95 p 6

[Unattributed article: "The Designation 'Islamic Path' Is Replaced by 'True Path'"]

[FBIS Translated Text] The annual assembly of the Party for Democratic Action—Islamic Path [PAD—RRI] was held in Tetova on 19 November, with members of the Central Council and delegates from the party's branches attending. The communique of the party's Information Service gave the following report on the assembly:

In addition to the report on the work of the PAD—RRI during the period from February 1994 to October 1995, statutory changes and changes in regard to cadres, which would revitalize the work of the party, were scheduled to be examined at the assembly.

In his presentation, party Chairman Qenan Mazllaini first gave a broad view of the party's work during this period and then concentrated on activities connected with the registration of the population, the parliamentary elections, the work of the branches, and activities related to the opening of Tetova University. In his speech, Chairman Mazllaini stressed the great commitment of this party to making a name for itself and to achieving the goals specified in the program. After mentioning the results achieved, which had their ups and downs, he pointed out the difficulties which the party has experienced and the problems with which it has been confronted. In addition to the financial factor and the fact that the work of the branches was not sufficiently up to date, he mentioned some other problems preventing the further development of the party. Then he raised the question of the party's designation, which, during the past three years, ever since it was attached to the party's name, has been a topic of many discussions, misunderstandings, and speculations, and this is the reason why the party's steering council proposed, before the assembly was held, that the designation be changed. This was not because this designation did not receive the necessary support from the party's advocates and other citizens. This support was proven by the parliamentary elections, in which the party received 14,000 votes in the entire republic, despite its low-key election campaign. But for the majority, this designation prompted great responsibility and respect and, as a result, people did not show their willingness to approach this political party. Such an association caused serious misunderstandings among the people which had undesired effects. This found expression, in particular, in open political competitions in which the means of attack would not be chosen, and in insinuations and other political nonsequiturs from which the party would not be spared.

Such a phenomenon is foreign to this party, in light of the universal importance of Islam and its irreplaceable role in the development of civilization in these parts. In order to protect this name from various attacks and erroneous suppositions, party Chairman Qenan Mazllaini supported the party's steering council's recommendation that the designation of the party and not its name be changed. As he said, because of the name which it has had from August 1990 when it was formed, up to the present, the Party for Democratic Action [PAD] has historical continuity. The changing of the designation does not mean the abandonment of political ambitions and religious aspirations which continue to remain, with capital letters, in the political platform and program of the party. Our religious requirements remain current, Chairman Mazllaini said, because Islam, as one of the heavenly religions, is a reality in this region and remains a motivating, creative, and productive force of our everyday life. We will continue to base our political activities on the undeniable role of our spiritual life.

After a broad and comprehensive discussion, the assembly, by majority vote, approved the changes in the Statute and decided to change the designation of the party. From a number of recommendations, the assembly unanimously approved the new designation, True Path. This means that, after this assembly, this party will be present on the political scene of the Republic of Macedonia [The Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia—FYROM] under the name Party for Democratic Action—True Path.

The new Central Council, with 45 members, will hold its first meeting on 3 December 1995 when it will elect the new steering council from its ranks.

Provision of Draft Law on Commercial Enterprises

96BA0014A Skopje NOVA MAKEDONIJA in Macedonian 16, 17 Oct 95

[Article in two installments by Pero Naumovski: "Radical Reorganization of Economic Entities"]

[16 Oct p 2]

[FBIS Translated Text] *The law still lacks social verification, and the political and economic public does not have an overall view of its nature, content, and purpose. Correcting the error of the Law on Enterprises regarding the legal jurisdiction of enterprises. The speed with which the law was passed could affect its quality.*

In debating the draft law on commercial companies, the Assembly of the Republic of Macedonia [The

Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia—FYROM] (at its March and September sessions), actually set the legal and political prerequisites for giving the law a green light, and for the government to formulate a draft law. The impression, however, is that the Law on Commercial Companies lacks a broader social verification, and the sociopolitical and economic public in the Republic of Macedonia does not have an overall view of its nature, content, and purpose. Based on the fact that the Law on Commercial Companies is one of the central topics of interest, for it "concentrates the overall political charge of the economic reforms" (Jane Miljovski), the attitude toward that law should be changed radically and qualitatively. This becomes all the more necessary because (excluding the government and the debate in the Assembly) so far the organized expert and scientific discussion of this law in is economic aspect has only been conducted by the Macedonian Bar Association (one more debate has been scheduled), and no such activities have been reported by any other institution or organization. Some media have merely mentioned this law.

The conclusions based on the Assembly debates have been exclusively affirmative without a proper critical spirit concerning the required resolutions, indicating that passing this law is necessary and that it will "ensure the only legal resolution of issues and relations in the area of statutory law, coordination with the Macedonian Constitution, and continuity in granting the same status to all types of ownership, private initiative, and the development of a market economy in accordance with European and global experience and practices." The Assembly also adopted individual essential critical remarks to the effect that the law is "complex and extensive, written in a high-level style, is excessively regulatory and difficult to apply in practice because of the still undefined ownership of capital, with discrepancy between individual stipulations in the law and the constitution, insufficient participation of the Chamber of Commerce in conceptualizing the legal stipulations, incomplete settlement of the part dealing with worker representation in the administration authorities and in management and supervision, and so on." That is precisely why the Assembly asked the author (the government) to organize advisory groups, expert discussions and consultations with economic entities and also with a view to assist in formulating the text of said law.

Rules of the Game

The issue is raised of whether these reasons alone made it unnecessary for the Assembly (and other entities) to be deprived of the possibility more creatively to participate in the debates on this law.

The political and economic public in the country was only given small information on the significance of this draft. The public was not sufficiently guided or informed of the fact that the Law on Commercial Companies is of tremendous importance to the economy, that it will have a major economic impact, for it will establish the rules of the game for all capital transactions, the shifting of capital from one sector to another and from enterprise to enterprise, as it strives to reach the basic engine of the state—profit. Furthermore, that the Law on Commercial Companies marks the completion of the process of the radical reorganization of economic entities, which began with the passing of the Law on Enterprises in 1988, and that the Law on Enterprises in fact lead to a different organization of enterprises compared to the one that existed in the transitional period, in accordance with Law on Associated Labor.

It is of interest to point out that the Law on Enterprises included a major error in terms of acknowledging the legal subordination of enterprises rather than its subordination to the owner or merchant. In that sense, it must be pointed out that the redefining of public ownership assets in public capital did not introduce major changes, for that capital remained without owner in the precise meaning of the word, for which reason it could be organized only or at least in principle in forms inherent in public and state ownership as self-governing and state enterprises. Conversely, the Law on Commercial Enterprises considers companies a form of organization of owners of capital. Considering that our society is in a process of transition, we also need to introduce forms of organization of private enterprise as dominant in this society. Without them the new social order cannot be conceived of nor could we become aware of its development and its power. In that sense, commercial enterprises of all kinds do not constitute an external organizational form of a capitalist enterprise but its strongest content.

Adapting to Europe

Furthermore, for the sake of more quickly joining the European integration processes and the adoption of European work standards, this law harmonizes the European law in our own national law (unification), settles the situation and ratifies the rules on the basis of which entrepreneurial activities take place. With this law our legal system will become compatible with the European legal system, and it is precisely for this reason that the largest number of stipulations in the law, included in the submitted draft law version, have been borrowed from the French and German legal systems.

Such an "adaptation to Europe should develop much more easily, for in the past, as well (unlike countries belonging to the former socialist bloc), we were ahead in the organization of enterprises, in the course of which our joint-stock and limited liability companies already have all the signs of capital-owning enterprises and all that is needed is to coordinate our features with the standards included in this law" (Tito Belicanec).

From the aspect of the theory of the postulates governing the standardization of legal stipulations, the Law on Commercial Enterprises is a strict and categorical prescriptions compared to regulatory, discretionary, and hypothetical stipulations. Strict regulations are those that cannot be deleted or amended but must be applied as they are. This expresses the will of the public association, which cannot change by the will of individuals. On the other hand, the categorical regulation is applied directly and unconditionally and is a strong legal instrument used in the implementation of a variety of sociopolitical objectives, particularly in the development of the new reform processes. The law provides a precise and strong regulatory base applicable to the types of commercial enterprises, as can be clearly seen in the adopted principle that no single economic subject can be organized outside the forms regulated by the law.

The critical issues raised so far in the course of the debate on the Law on Commercial Enterprises could be generalized as issues of a general nature or significance and directly linked to the resolutions included in the law, particularly the means and time limits in drafting and submitting of the law, changes in the standards and range of the law and, consequently, the difficulty of applying it in practice, as well as issues directly related to the resolutions included in the text of the law which, in a certain way, must be revised from the aspect of their coordination with the Constitution and the legal system.

The serious treatment of general or significant issues implied, among others, that the Law on Commercial Enterprises should have been drafted on the basis of the dynamics within the framework of the Law on Legislative Activities of the Government and the Assembly of the Republic of Macedonia for 1994. The social situation required that this law be drafted and applied during that period, based on the priority of the need for standardizing statutory relations of economic entities in the country, for those currently existing are inconsistent and obstructive. The Law on Commercial Enterprises (although drafted in accordance with the views prevailing in 1994) was not immediately applied at the beginning of 1995. Bearing in mind the commitments of the government of the Republic of Macedonia, adopted within the framework of agreements with the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund on reforming the economic system, objectively tighter deadlines for its finalizing were approved. The Law on Commercial Enterprises is a systemic law which must be drafted in detail and based on teamwork, for what is required is a codified law valid for at least the next 50 years or a century. Yet the drafting and discussion of this law has taken more than one year (Gale Galev).

[17 Oct p 4]

[FBIS Translated Text]

Role of Administrative Council Reduced

The administrative council actually manages as well, and this function should be considered dominant in terms of the auditing committee, and its rights should be demarcated. A legal subordination based on the principles of a general juridical capability will facilitate the development of legality and expand legal reliability.

Relative to remarks about the content of the Law on Commercial Enterprise, it has been pointed out that it is "excessively burdened with unclear and unspecific as well as reciprocally uncoordinated stipulations, for which reason should the suggested text be adopted, it would be unapplicable or difficult to apply in practical matters. At the same time, in terms of settling certain issues, the text becomes standardized, even in the case of issues that are settled with company resolutions, and are unclear and undefined, and confusing jurisdictions in governing and administering the company" (Chamber of Commerce of Macedonia). In defining the scope of the law we must start with the basic parameters: the correlation between the scope and the content. The broader the scope of a law, the poorer its content, and vice versa. This is essentially the content of the remarks of the Assembly of the Republic of Macedonia, which points out that the law also includes matters settled on the basis of other laws, such as the Law on Accounting, the Law on Securities, the Law on Equalization, Bankruptcy and Liquidations, the Law on Commercial Registration, and so on. It is emphasized, on the basis of the fact that the ZTD [Law on Commercial Companies] is fundamental and systemic, that it should include the basic resolutions settled with the laws we mentioned and, after its adoption, amend and supplement the other laws, making them consistent with the stipulations of the ZTD.

This leads to the general conclusion that the Law on Commercial Companies should (for the sake of rationalization) be free from dealing with issues related to the Trade Register and the regulations governing bookkeeping and annual accounts (Articles 452-611), but include several basic guidelines in settling such relations with the Law on Commercial Registration and the Law on Bookkeeping, while the remaining stipulations of the law be dropped for such issues have already been settled in the mentioned laws and the fact that books and annual accounts must be based on the formulation of bookkeeping principles and standards, for such resolutions may present a risk by their failure to be consistent with the adopted principles and standards. Precisely for that reason it is believed that the preceding and concluding stipulations of the draft law should include a resolution according to which the stipulations of the present Law on Bookkeeping will be applied until bookkeeping principles and standards have been introduced on a retroactive basis.

"In this law a distinction must be made between the area of the law, and the specialty, so that assessments, audits, and consolidations are a sector that is the domain of professionals, assessors, and accountants" (Trajko Rusevski). For that reason, the drafting of the general stipulations (the systemic laws) are issues of social (state) policy. Therefore, the author of this law must determine which relations are to be standardized on the basis of general stipulations or of other types of stipulations (special stipulations of laws with a narrower range of applications compared to the general stipulations). This approach would simplify the text of that law.

Control of Legality

The stipulation of Article 47 of the draft law on controlling the observance of the law in the work of enterprises by the registration court will have to be reviewed from the aspect of its coordination with the constitution and the legal system. Specifically, according to paragraph two of that article, the court will control legality by controlling the agreements on founding the company and its bylaws, as well as the other documents dealing with the organization and operations of the company, which may violate the law or other legal stipulations, and whether the resolutions adopted by that company will violate the legal stipulations applied in the organization and operation of the company and the stipulations governing the founding of the company, the bylaws of the company, and other company legal acts. This raises two issues: the nature of the control itself and the supervision of legality (in the past, legality was supervised by the administrative authorities), the subject of control, whether such control is not clearly applied with the specific activities of the registration court, as stipulated by the law, and whether the courts are prepared organizationally and legally, to provide such control. On the other hand, it must be determined whether the Law on Courts, which was passed in July 1995, adapted its duties (Article 32) to the stipulations of the Law on Commercial Enterprises, and whether its authority, as stipulated in that article, is consistent with control over the legality of company activities. This article clearly stipulates that the court is authorized to deal with bankruptcies, forced equalization, and liquidation, and disputes which may arise in this connection, as well as arguments concerning changes in the bylaws (splitting, merger) and executing the resolution of such courts. Perhaps such issues may be clear to the author. However, that stipulation is not sufficiently described in the law in order to make the stipulation itself clear, although paragraph three of that article lists the exceptions.

Although a critical review of the status, rights and commitments of the members of the administrative council and the auditing council (Section 4—Administering and Managing a Joint Stock Company, Subsection 2—Articles 319-343) the assessment is that the auditing council, as suggested in the text of the law, has a predominant status and function relative to the administrative council (Articles 323, 326, and 336; example: the auditing council supervises the administration of the joint-stock company). Meanwhile, on the basis of the established authority, the administrative council implements the management function, which plays a very strong role in the development and operations of the company, while the auditing council exercises its rights by supervising the material and financial operations of the company and the fact that the law requires special controllers to supervise the company's operations. The scope of the authority of the law (which is quite modest and should be expanded) requires for the administrative council to actually perform the function that should be considered dominant in terms of the auditing council and that the current situation and function of the auditing council must be delineated. Actually, the question is whether the auditing council should control the administrative function.

Legal Capability

According to the Law on Commercial Enterprises, in implementing the object of their operations, the enterprises may have rights and commitments related to the implementation of permissible activities within the range of the purpose of their work. Hence the extent of their legal capability is directly determined and approved by the allowed activity itself, which is determined in advance in the documents of the enterprise and entered in the Commercial Register. It is particularly important to take into consideration the extent of their legal range. Our legal doctrine provides various interpretations of this issue.

Our legal system includes the decision that the contracts concluded by commercial companies and enterprises exceeding the range of registered activities are invalid and have no legal effect. In this connection, we must point out that our theory and law fall within the group of countries that accept the principle of the general legal capability of juridical persons to conclude contracts outside of their registered activities as well. Such a stipulation follows the current trend of countries with a market economy. This clearly facilitates the development of economic activities, for the participants are free from the commitment to determine whether a contract they would like to conclude is within the scope of the registered activities of the contracting parties. In England as well, the ultra vires theory is being abandoned. The negative consequences of that theory are avoided in practical activities of the courts, which cover all possible activities. Thus, for example, the issue is raised of whether some commercial companies, banks for example, may engage in another activity, such as providing insurance.

Therefore, the use of the stipulation of the legal subjectivity of commercial companies, based on general legal capability, will essentially facilitate the development of legal activities and increase legal security. The need becomes apparent for such relations of the legal subject of commercial companies to be systematically included in the Law on Commercial Companies within the framework of the founding, structuring, activities, and registration with the court, within which it could vary in terms of content and scope. This will lead to a more flexible and more liberal settling of relations within legal activities carried out exceeding the range of registered activities.

Cabinet Statement on Sending Troops to Bosnia

WS0712140395 Warsaw POLSKA ZBROJNA in Polish 7 Dec 95 pp 1-2

[Article by L.M.: "Polish Troops in Bosnia; No Longer Training, but Joint Action"]

[FBIS Translated Text] *As we reported yesterday, the Council of Ministers decided to send a Polish military contingent to Bosnia. Our soldiers will act jointly with NATO units in the American sector near Tuzla; they will supervise the process of implementing the peace agreement.*

The Government of the Polish Republic took a stand on the issue; it is divided into six points which are published in their entirety.

In Dayton, the United States and representatives of the sides fighting in Bosnia-Hercegovina initialed an agreement that is to end the war which has been going on for four years now. The agreement will be solemnly signed soon in Paris. Implementation of the agreement will be watched by approximately 60,000 soldiers who will take part in a NATO peacekeeping mission called IFOR (Implementation Force), approved by the UN Security Council. Poland has decided to send a military contingent which will be part of the IFOR. This is a logical consequence of the policy which we have been pursuing so far. While making this decision, the government is aware of both the additional duties and the political benefits.

1. Poland is actively participating in the structures of international security of regional, pan-European, and global character, as well as in the peacekeeping operations launched by these structures. Poland has been taking part in peacekeeping operations for over 40 years—since 1993 under the auspices of the UN, and during this period it has acquired a great deal of experience of which few countries can boast. We are convinced that due to our potential and experience, we can greatly contribute to the implementation of the most important task which the European community wants to perform at the moment, i.e. restoration and strengthening of peace in Bosnia-Hercegovina.

2. Poland has been elected a nonpermanent member of the UN Security Council for the years 1996-1997. One of the primary duties of a Security Council member is greater commitment to maintaining international peace and security. The election of Poland to this organ is an expression of recognition on the part of the international community for our achievements; it also strengthens our political role, offering us a chance of exerting greater influence on the making of many important decisions. A seat in the Security Council obligates us to sustain our commitment in peacekeeping operations.

3. While striving to obtain lasting security guarantees, Poland also wants to confirm its sense of international solidarity and its readiness to make its own contributions to the resolution of problems in the region. Poland is and wants to remain a significant contributor to stability and security on the continent. Security in Europe is indivisible, and responsibility for its maintenance is shared by all the European countries.

4. We link Poland's security with our cooperation with NATO and with our future membership in this organization. We can see a possibility of using our participation in the Bosnian operation as a platform for cooperation and development of stronger ties with NATO. Poland will have a chance to confirm in practice its desire to obtain the status of a NATO member, a desire which does not result from fears of a threat on the part of its neighbors, but from the striving to extend the zone of stability to the entire continent. The IFOR operation shows clearly the new character of NATO. Poland welcomes participation of other states in this operation, including the participation of Russia.

5. From the military point of view, participation in the operation will create unique conditions to verify in practice the principles of compatibility and joint operation capabilities of our forces with NATO units. We believe that as a result of these experiences, we will have greater knowledge and understanding of the principles governing the activities of NATO's integrated military structures. This will constitute invaluable capital in the future.

6. The Polish government obligates the National Defense Ministry and the command cadre of the battalion to see to the security of the Polish soldiers taking part in the IFOR peacekeeping operation, the statement issued by the Government of the Polish Republic reads.

Oleksy Meeting With Voivodes 'Closed' to Press

WS0612160595 Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish 6 Dec 95 p 3

[Article by "GAC": "Voivode Praises His Prime Minister"]

[FBIS Translated Text] At a meeting with Prime Minister Jozef Oleksy yesterday, voivodes [governors] expressed very favorable opinions on the governmental draft reforms of the health service, economic center, as well as the unemployment program.

In return, Marek Borowski, head of the Office of the Council of Ministers, (voivodes are directly subordinated to him) evaluated the voivodes' work and said that they "display considerable consistency and consideration in their activities." He also expressed his satisfaction with the fact that during the election campaign the regional governmental administration remained impartial and nonpolitical.

It was the first time a meeting between the prime minister and government members was closed to the press.

Political Maneuvers in Constitutional Commission

WS0712114495 Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish 6 Dec 95 p 2

[Article by Piotr Zaremba: "The SLD Writes Constitution; Cimoszewicz Takes Over Kwasniewski's Heritage"]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] *Even though the opposition tried hard to woo Polish Peasant Party [PSL] politicians and then attempted to impede matters, all this did not help Ryszard Bugaj of the Union of Labor [UP] much. Wlodzimierz Cimoszewicz of the Democratic Left Alliance [SLD], not Bugaj, was elected chairman of the [parliamentary] Constitutional Commission. Cimoszewicz promised that the new constitution would be ready in a year. The document is already being severely criticized by Lech Walesa.*

First, Aleksander Kwasniewski's letter was read out; Kwasniewski asked the members of the commission to recall him from the post of their chairman. In his absence, the meeting was chaired by Kwasniewski's deputy, Senator Stefan Pastuszka of the PSL. The resignation was accepted. "Too bad that Mr. Kwasniewski did not deign to say goodbye to us personally," deplored Irena Lipowicz of the Freedom Union [UW]. The president-elect is now visiting Spain.

The Coalition Takes It All

The opposition did its best to delay election of Kwasniewski's successor in office. Jerzy Ciemniewski of UW was only able to force a break in the meeting to make it possible for the opposition clubs to confer. Motions to delay the voting were rejected three times. Jerzy Gwizdz of the Non-Party Bloc in Support of Reforms [BBWR] wanted a secret ballot, but he was not successful. Most of the commission members decided that this violated the regulations of the session. [passage omitted]

All the members of the commission who represented the PSL, as well as representatives of SLD, backed the candidacy of Wlodzimierz Cimoszewicz of SLD. Bugaj was supported by members of UW, UP, BBWR, KPN, and "Solidarity." [passage omitted]

Off the record, opposition deputies were saying that all attempts to win the peasants over to their side failed because the peasants had been promised that PSL Chairman Waldemar Pawlak would be appointed to the post of minister of internal affairs. Since Kwasniewski's electoral victory, the peasants have been consistently demanding control over this ministry. "Perhaps Pawlak will be minister and will no longer be chairman of the party," some speculated. [passage omitted]

Walesa Comments on Election, Future Plans

WS0712112095 Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 6 Dec 95 p 2

[Article by K.Gr.: "President Suspects Elections Were Rigged"]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] *"When people are voting, commissions are important. One man with confidence is not enough. Here there are great possibilities of manipulation which we ignored," said Lech Walesa yesterday at a meeting with self-government activists in Warsaw. The president, who has not made many public statements since the elections, suggested a few times yesterday that the elections might have been rigged.*

In a statement he read, he called Kwasniewski's victory a "dubious one," which "gives us, not him, reasons for optimism. Murky sociological methods and lies cannot get you far."

He also wondered why he had lost in the "B Poland," in small towns and in the countryside. This was because his people were not included in the election commissions there. The compositions of the commissions were the same as they were in the past 30 years. "The most dangerous point is right there," Walesa said. "Amateurs, what have we done? Have we forgotten who we are dancing with? They have never been democratic, and all of a sudden they are," he told the participants of the meeting.

He appealed to the people not to disperse their forces. Asked about his plans, he said that regardless of the ruling handed down by the Supreme Court, he would set up a Lech Walesa institute. [passage omitted]

"I am taking the lead once again. I am not joining anyone. I hope that others will join me. I will lead one election list. I will not run for the Sejm or for the Senate," he declared. "On that side there is only one list, and on this side there must be one as well," he said firmly. He added that the groups which run in the elections in one bloc cannot lose their identity.

Settling accounts with the past is important, but this cannot be at the top of the priorities; such are the conclusions from the election lesson, he said.

KPN Leader: Kwasniewski Should Face Tribunal

WS0612155895 Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 5 Dec 95 p 2

[Article by F.F.: "Kwasniewski Before Tribunal"]

[FBIS Translated Text] If we win a parliamentary majority in the future Sejm with the Freedom Union [UW] and the Polish Peasant Party [PSL], we will bring Kwasniewski before the State Tribunal, says Krzysztof Krol, leader of the Confederation for an Independent Poland [KPN]. He outlines the scenario of future events: KPN, UW, and PSL win a majority in the Sejm. They submit a motion to bring President Kwasniewski (unless prior to that the Supreme Court invalidates the elections) before the State Tribunal for providing false information on his education. His duties are taken over by the Sejm speaker. Kwasniewski gets sentenced, and within four or five months elections for a new president are held. Krol also said that the Patriotic Camp would be registered in a court of law. The camp will be a federation of parties and organizations comprising one bloc along with KPN. They include, among others, the Movement for the Republic, National-Democratic Party, the "Kontra" Trade Union, and the Polish Peasant Party-Peasant Accord. The KPN leader also includes the Non-Party Bloc in Support of Reforms [BBWR] in it, even though he concedes that this organization is divided over the idea of forming an alliance with his party. "I am surprised at yet another 'initiative,' which is an attempt to put individual people on the political scene, not an attempt to form a political bloc which might successfully resist the left-wing camp," wrote BBWR leader Jerzy Gwizdz.

Kwasniewski's Relations With Church Examined

WS0612133295 Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 29 Nov 95 p 4

[Article by Ewa K. Czaczkowska: "President-Elect Mollifies the Church"]

[FBIS Translated Text] *The Church, whose ecclesiastical rather than political role suffered a setback [in the] November 19th [elections], can realize at least some of its goals sooner than the results of the elections have signaled. To pair down the number of political "fronts" [he will have to face], the president-elect must agree to certain concessions towards the Church. There are already indications he is prepared to do so.*

(Un)Expected Change

Anticlericalism was one of the key themes of Aleksander Kwasniewski's campaign. The major election slogans of the candidate of the Democratic Left Alliance (SLD) included opposition to the concordat and Church privileges, and liberalization of antiabortion laws. Even long before the campaign entered its decisive phase, relations between the SLD, the coalition, and the Church sharpened to the point of exploding into a new religious war, it was said. When bishops criticized Kwasniewski and like-minded voters, he and his campaign staff were glad it would only enlarge his electoral base. "I'm like a lone ranger. Everybody's against me: the press, the bishops—but you are with me and that is my strength"—he told a crowd of supporters at a rally just a few days before the second round.

And then, hardly a day after the election victory, voters learned from interviews for the Italian press that ratification of the concordat is a pressing issue, and will most likely follow after the new constitution is approved. Ostensibly not a change, since SLD had long ago advanced the condition that the constitution would come first, before the concordat, yet ratification of the concordat had now become an urgent issue. So very much so, that as deputy prime minister Roman Jagielinski said after the coalition leaders' meeting—SLD will be ready to accept it long before the constitution is passed. Such an abrupt change in position may surprise Aleksander Kwasniewski's voters, though no one can deny it falls within the definition of his election platform of a "Common Poland." The president-elect is no doubt keen on improving relations with the Church, on receiving its cool tolerance at least. It is simply indispensible in a situation in which he already has opposition, though it is still unconsolidated, from all extraparliamentary right wing parties, and all parliamentary noncoalition parties, "Solidarity" and Lech Walesa. If the Church were to join forces, it could well prove a very difficult presidency.

In an interview for L'AVVENIRE, Aleksander Kwasniewski declared it was his intention to normalize relations with the Catholic Church, relations which had suffered strain in the course of the campaign. He told the Italian newspaper LA STAMPA that it would be a great honor for him to meet the Pope, "the greatest Pole of all time." "I am trying to bring about a reconciliation in Poland and would like to ask the Pope to help me in this, as he is a moral authority recognized by all politicians." The president-elect went on to say in an interview for DER SPIEGEL that he will work so hard for the country that "God's blessings" may shine on him.

Two Years' Experience

The first step, still in the sphere of intentions, has already been made. The next, for example, may involve demonstration of a more positive attitude by some SLD parliamentary deputies, i.e. agreement not to obstruct legislative action from KPN [Confederation for an Independent Poland] and PSL [Polish Peasant Party] deputies who may once again move a motion in the Sejm for immediate ratification of the concordat. The president will then, in the name of a Poland common to all, sign the act approved by the will of representatives of the nation. Only then, if ever at all, a possible meeting between the Pope and Aleksander Kwasniewski could take place. (At a congress of prolife movements the Monday after the election, the Pope expressed doubt he will ever visit Poland again.) It should be remembered, however, that the president-elect has made known his intention of signing a liberalized antiabortion act if it is approved by the Sejm, creating a new area of contention with the Church hierarchy.

Ratification of the concordat seems to be the basis for cool normalization of relations. This is because it is a key issue for the Church, one that hinges on its honor. Yet, for the past two years, from the victory in parliamentary elections of the SLD-PSL coalition, ratification has been postponed. The government still has not prepared complementary draft legislation to the concordat. For the Church, declarations of the Joint Government-Episcopate Commission, which is to clarify disputed issues in the interpretation of the concordat, are an indication of the real intentions of the government. Corrections to the declaration made by the government are not acceptable in the opinion of the bishops for they interfere into the substance of the concordat. And the concordat is not subject to renegotiation. There are other issues the Church has expressed an interest in, such as provisions of the new constitution regarding church-state relations, and remuneration for catechists. The reelection of Lech Walesa would have afforded the opportunity for resolving these issues to the Church's satisfaction, thereby maintaining its position in the state.

Defeat

The Church, therefore, involved itself in the presidential elections, especially in the period before the second round. From June onwards, it sent out clear messages to the faithful that they should not vote for the SLD leader, the heir to the anticlerical communist apparatus, but rather vote for a someone who is trustworthy and a believer. Such pointers were made in two letters from the Episcopate in June and September. As November 5th [date of first round of the election] drew near, Lech Walesa, whose chances of entering the second round grew, more and more often appeared in the company of bishops. The Episcopate did not decide to announce the letter of intervention before the second round, yet many bishops published such letters in their dioceses urging voters to give testimony to their loyalty to Christian values. Some priests even warned parishioners it would be a sin to vote for a postcommunist. Masses and prayers for the motherland, president, and elections where held throughout Poland prior to the elections. The Church very clearly opted for Lech Walesa, and lost.

Unfortunately, we shall not learn to what extent the Church's position helped Lech Walesa capture 48.7 percent of the vote, and to what extent it helped Aleksander Kwasniewski gain votes to tip the scales of victory. How many people followed the Church's instructions and how many voted for the candidate of the ruling coalition for that very reason? Preelection polls show that only 5 percent of Poles intended to take the bishops' pleas into consideration; 80 percent thought the Church ought not to influence election results.

The results will continue to be analyzed from all sides for a long time—both by those who won and those who lost, and also by the Church itself. Bishop Tadeusz Pieronek, secretary of the Episcopate, announced that the Church hierarchy would conduct a thorough analysis of what had happened, which, as he believes, will lead to "some kind of deep pastoral reform in Poland." Until that time, the bishops refused to acknowledge in their first comments after the election that Aleksander Kwasniewski's victory is defeat or disaster for the Church. The Cardinal Primate Jozef Glemp claimed that the choice had been made due to such factors as "discouragement with the existing system or with socioeconomic conditions" and expectations of a "miraculous improvement in these conditions, in particular, of security." Yet it was also the primate who said on election day that Poles are not, in actual fact, making a choice between two persons, but between two value systems: one Christian, the other neopagan. Nevertheless, in bishop Pieronek's opinion, the choice in the presidential elections was not between good and evil, since "voters are guided not only by moral criteria, but take other factors into consideration, as well." Though many believers voted for Kwasniewski, they did not make that choice because of his "negative attitude towards the Church." If that were the case, it would mean they did not clearly identify themselves as Catholics, or that they have serious grievance with the Church. In either case, the Church will have to face problems with the faithful.

Language and Style Need Changing

The bishops say the Church is not at a loss. Of course, this defeat cannot be treated in strictly political terms. The goals and mission of the Church are different, not measured by new sessions of parliament or new terms of office of presidents. But the concept of the clergy's direct involvement in political warfare has suffered defeat. This defeat is primarily related to the failures of the Church's teachings. Despite appeals from the Church hierarchy and the clergy, a large proportion of the Church faithful chose values other than those advocated by it. The elections have shown that society has changed, and that, as bishop Pieronek noticed, it has strengthened its "autonomous political judgement." He added that this is a "positive fact, testifying to the maturity of the democratic process."

In following the pattern mapped out by Western society, Polish society is becoming pluralistic, and the Church will have to not so much adapt to new realities—as its message remains unchanged—but quite simply change its approach, the language it uses to address the faithful. Perhaps it will have to make more of an effort in promoting its educational and religious activities, through Akcja Katolicka [Catholic Action] for instance, one of whose spheres of action will be the world of politics—rather than attempt to directly influence the political choices of its parishioners. It seems the Church will no longer allow itself to act this way. The Reverend Prof. Mieczyslaw A. Krapiec, president of KUL, the Catholic University of Lublin, told the Catholic Information agency KAI, that the "manner in which religious teachings were and are administered does not contribute to deepening consciencious Christian social life." It is all the more important to draw conclusions from these statements, since it is highly likely that during Kwasniewski's term the Church will have to prepare for two referendums: One on abortion (which Kwasniewski mentioned as a possibility during his election campaign), and the other on the constitution. The results of these will for many years determine the position of the Church in Poland.

The 1980's, when the Church acted as a cohesive force uniting anticommunist opposition, when in reaction to totalitarism and hypocrisy in public life there was an eruption of religious life, will not be repeated, even though the same scenario has repeated itself—though only in part—a monopolization of power by the party that is heir to the political forces of yesteryear. The legal opposition has now taken over the political role of the Church, which, because it has at times made awkward moves in the new reality, because it has pressed hard for legal sanctioning of its teachings (the Antiabortion Law, religion in school), has lost much of its popularity.

It seems that after these elections the Church will not draw on the argument that 90-95 percent of Poles are Catholics. In an interview for KAI, primate Glemp admitted that: "[...] we have fewer real Catholics than baptismal statistics show or the sheer numbers of those taking first communion. There are those Catholics who have been overwhelmed by subjectivistic ideology and have been choosy in their acceptance of the teachings of the Church." Nevertheless, he admitted, 30 percent of churchgoers did take heed, and there "may even have been more."

It is quite likely that after the 280th Plenary Conference of the Polish Episcopate ends this Thursday, we shall learn what conclusions the bishops drew from the elections. They have, so far, been calling for penance, prayer and a reckoning of the nation's conscience.

The Portent of Dialogue

No doubt the present political situation dominated by SLD, successor to the very forces the Church had battled and had also accomodated to throughout Poland's postwar history of communism, is not a comfortable situation for the Church. It provides it with less of an opportunity to realize its goals than if the outcome of the elections had been different. And yet—as the first ennunciations from the president-elect have shown—the situation is far from hopeless. He may even be able to achieve some of his objectives—surely not any quicker than may have been anticipated from the election results, even after the first emotional pronouncements from the clergy. The head abbot of the Pauline Monastery at Jasna Gora [in Czestochowa], Father Szczepan Kosnik, closed the gates of the monastery to government officials from under the sign of the "hammer and sickle"—a highly symbolic gesture. On the other hand, Archbishop Jozef Michalik warned against dividing the nation into "good folk and bad folk, patriots and traitors, for this would only bring new divisions and hatred." The Church must be able to function under any conditions, for its objectives and mission are of a different kind. Nonconflictual accomodation to any government is a rule of thumb for the Vatican. This is what the Metropolitan Archbishop of Gniezno Province, Henryk Muszynski, essentially said in his statement: "It is obvious that the Church can work under any conditions, under different systems. It will work to defend certain specific values, because they relate to its mission and calling."

It is for this very reason that the bishops undoubtedly will enter into talks with the new president. Bishop Tadeusz Pieronek, secretary of the Episcopate, assured that such dialogue would be undertaken. The cardinal primate also reaffirmed the Church would not incite people to revolt, that "talks will definitely follow." The rethinking the Church has set out to do will not place the Church "in a new reality, but rather in a reality to which the new president will add a new shade of coloring." "I doubt," said Primate Glemp, "that we as the Church would undertake some political leadership role, although we shall very closely observe developments on the political stage."

"Jasna Gora is always open to those who wish to refresh their hearts before the majesty of the Jasna Gora Holy Virgin, Queen of Poland, to better perform their life's mission," Father Szczepan Kosnik, chief abbot of the Jasna Gora sanctuary, wrote yesterday in a statement. He claims his Novemebr 26th statement was "not always kindly and accurately" interpreted. He meant to say—he writes—that the Pauline fathers cannot formally invite those who for any reason undermine evangelical values, such as the value of human life, or ridicule what is the rich heritage of our nation. This is because, as the priest maintained, the contemplative and pastoral order of Pauline monks guards the "spiritual and cultural wealth of the sanctuary and helps those who arrive here to discover there the values that grow from Polish tradition and ensure its livelihood in the future."

[Caption under photograph]

In interviews with the Western press, the president-elect has declared his wish to normalize relations with the Church. The first step, still in the sphere of intentions, has been made. The next step may be a more positive attitude by some of SLD's parliamentary deputies, i.e. their noninterference when KPN [Confederation for an Independent Poland] and PSL [Polish Peasant Party] deputies once again motion in the Sejm for immediate ratification of the concordat. And then, the president, in the name of a Poland common to all, will sign the act approved by the will of representatives of the nation. [Above: Aleksander Kwasniewski, Leszek Moczulski, Adam Struzik (center) in debate during a meeting of the Constitutional Commission of the National Assembly.]

Poll on Allegations About Candidates Conducted

WS0712112195 Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish 6 Dec 95 p 2

[Article by "NIKA": "After Elections—Opinion Expressed by Half of Poles: Charges Leveled at Candidates Should Be Clarified"]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] *In line with the results of an opinion poll conducted by the Public Opinion Research Center [CBOS], 33 percent of the respondents believe that the charges leveled at Aleksander Kwasniewski during the election campaign were justified. Just as many believe that the allegations leveled at Lech Walesa were well-based.*

The most important charges concerned the fact that Kwasniewski provided false information about his education and concealed that his wife possessed "Polisa" insurance company shares (however, the validity of these charges is questioned by 35 percent of the respondents). Walesa was accused of having failed to pay a tax on the $1 million which he had received for granting the copyright to a film about himself (30 percent do not believe that this allegation is justified). [passage omitted]

The participants of the poll were also asked whether the issues which surfaced during the campaign should be clarified after the elections. According to 48 percent, they should be fully clarified even though the elections are over; 47 percent do not think that we should deal with them any longer. [passage omitted]

The allegations leveled at the candidates during the election campaign was a symptom of an illness in our political life—this is the opinion expressed by nearly half of Poles. However, only slightly fewer respondents (40 percent) interpret this as a normal political game. [passage omitted]

CBOS conducted the poll between 16 and 20 November on a random sample of 1,139 Poles over 18 years of age.

Air Force To Be Reduced to 220 Combat Aircraft

LD0612230595 Warsaw TVP Television Second Program Network in Polish 2000 GMT 6 Dec 95

[FBIS Translated Text] The number of planes of the Polish Air Force and the Naval Air Force is to be reduced to 220 combat aircraft. This also means serious job losses in these forces. Specialists who spent years training will have to be demobilized.

There is no shortage of opinions that this may become another landmine, after the Alpha Jet scandal, which the new political structure might step on. According to restrictions of the CFE [Conventional Forces in Europe] disarmament agreement signed in Vienna, Poland has the limit of 460 combat aircraft.

The condition of the state coffers, according to Polish planners working on the restructuring plans of the Polish air forces, allows us to maintain only 220 planes in operational readiness in the coming years.

SZTANDAR MLODYCH has learned that in the second half of November 1995 the General Staff accepted an air force restructuring plan. The present air regiments and air divisions are to disappear. Both air forces, are to be divided into two fighter corps, preliminarily described the northern corps and the southern corps, and the third strike air corps.

The fighter corps are to be composed initially of three, and ultimately of four squadrons. The strike air corps, containing almost 100 Su-22 fighter-bombers, will be subdivided into bomber brigades. There is a plan to close down the base of the present Sixth Fighter-Bomber Air Regiment and the Air Force Headquarters at Pila. The unit, which according to the Pila residents is a noise generator, equipped with Su-22 aircraft, is to be replaced by the present 56th Combat Helicopter Regiment from Inowroclaw. There are rumors that officers and pilots from Pila are to be transferred to Miroslawiec, where one of the bomber brigades is most likely to have its Headquarters.

Lieutenant Arkadiusz (?Obarowski), air force and air defense spokesman, refused to comment on the subject to "Panorama" and suggested that the General Staff of the Polish Armed Forces was responsible for matters connected with the restructuring of the air force.

Colonel Zdzislaw Czekierda, chief of General Staff press spokesman, has confirmed the report about plans to restructure the air forces into three air corps and their subdivision into brigades. According to him, the reform will be aimed at a centralization of the air force command. The fighter and strike forces and air defense will come under one person who will receive the title of the "Commander of the Polish Air Force." He will be fully responsible for the security of the Polish skies.

At present the Polish Air Force is commanded by General Kazimierz Dziok.

Alpha Jet Purchase Postponed

WS0612152995 Warsaw GAZETA WYBORCZA in Polish 6 Dec 95 p 2

[Article by "AK": "Government on Mielec Plant; Alpha-Jet Halted"]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] *The government has decided to put the decision on the possible purchase of the Alpha-Jet planes on hold, Prime Minister Jozef Oleksy said after a cabinet meeting yesterday. The final decision is to be made in February.* [passage omitted]

"The government is not dealing with the 'Iryda' aircraft; it is interested in the fate of the Mielec plant, which is important to the economy," said Oleksy, who emphasized that defense of these aircraft "at any price" is out of the question. [passage omitted]

"The situation is really bizarre. The manufacturer delivers an ultimatum to us and dictates what we are to buy," we were told by a high-ranking official of the National Defense Ministry who asked to remain anonymous. [passage omitted]

Economic Prospects With Ex-Yugoslav States Seen

AU0712115095 Bucharest ADEVARUL in Romanian 29 Nov 95 p 1

[Editorial by Bogdan Chireac: "We Are Still Left With an Embargo"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Prime Minister Nicolae Vacaroiu's visit to Yugoslavia (Serbia and Montenegro), the first visit by the head of a foreign government after the UN embargo was lifted, reconfirms the good traditional relations between the two countries. Although Romania strictly observed the UN sanctions, the Yugoslav side has appreciated the fact that the Bucharest authorities resorted neither to friction nor to any excess of zealousness. Likewise, Bucharest policy, which has maintained good relations with both the new Yugoslavia, as well as the new states that have broken away from the Federation, has been reserved in declaring the Serbs the only aggressors in the conflict in the former Yugoslav area. There have been neither territorial nor ethnic disputes between Romania and Yugoslavia. The Serb minority in Romania and the Romanian minority in Serbia, far from involving themselves in separation movements, are active factors in bringing the two countries closer. This is a real model of European cohabitation. Hence, one can say that Bucharest has had and continues to have extremely warm relations with Belgrade. Romania's bilateral relations are not conducted with any other neighbor at such a high level.

Above political relations, one can talk about traditional economic relations between Romania and the former Yugoslav Federation. There had been joint projects in basic areas such as energy, defense, machine building, chemistry, and food industry. Prime Minister Vacaroiu signed numerous bilateral accords both in Belgrade and Podgorica and, knowing the Yugoslavs, it is more than certain that these accords will not remain only on paper. However, lifting the embargo and revival of economic relations between Romania and Yugoslavia will not bring about an automatic leveling of Romania's balance of payments. This is because good political relations are necessary, but are not sufficient to develop economic relations. An example in this respect are the Romanian-French relations, which are situated at a high political level, but modest economic level. On the other hand, resumption of bilateral exchanges will inevitably face numerous obstacles. First of all, the past three and a half years of embargo can be perceived strongly in Yugoslavia's economy. The most serious thing for Yugoslavia was its exclusion from the world circulation of goods, something that has a negative effect on the quality and competitiveness of its products. Moreover, the breakup of the big Yugoslavia, which used to have a unitary economy, will have in the short- and medium-term negative repercussions on the economy in Serbia and Montenegro. However, there are also appropriate premises for Yugoslavia's economy to get started quickly once it is supplied with fuel. Industry is privatized to a great extent and it is very flexible, while a developed agriculture prevented the population from suffering from hunger during the years of the embargo. There are also adequate financial resources. In Great Britain, Belgrade has bank accounts that amount to over $600 million. That money can be used now for reconstruction. Then, there are millions of Serbs scattered all over West Europe who, just as in the time of Tito's rule, send home the hard currency they earn. On the other hand, Romania's economy, although the country has not been involved in any war, has been and continues to be submitted to its own embargo—the energy-consuming mammoths have not been disconnected, the large-scale privatization is crawling, and restructuring simply does not exist. In practical terms, if Romania's economy does not succeed to rise rapidly to the level of Yugoslavia's development, in spite of the excellent relations between the Romanian people and the friendly Serb people, economic cooperation will remain at a low level.

The privileged political relations between Bucharest and Belgrade should not reduce Romania's economic interest to Serbia and Montenegro. Broken away from the former Yugoslavia, Croatia and mainly Slovenia have almost a western development level. Although these countries have not been submitted to economic embargo, and in spite of the fact that in the political arena the relations have remained good, the conflict in the former Yugoslav area has blocked to a great extent their economic relations with Romania. Therefore, it would be an important step if Prime Minister Vacaroiu's visit to Belgrade and Podgorica were followed by a visit to Zagreb and Ljubljana. This cannot affect in any way Romanian-Yugoslav relations, because the Serbs, too, when they overcome the fervor of war, will resume their natural economic relations with the former republics that broke away from the federation. As far as Bosnia is concerned, arms will continue to be heard there for a long time. It is hard to believe that the peace accord will be able to stop Sarajevo from becoming Belfast in the heart of Europe. Nevertheless, money for reconstruction will pour in here from all directions. In fact, this would be the most efficient way to calm things down. Apart from the support already announced by the big financial bodies, many other kinds of assistance and investment will also be directed here. Yugoslavia will assist the Bosnian Serbs, Croatia and Germany will develop their program especially in the areas inhabited by Croats, while the Islamic countries will offer petrol-dollars to the Muslims. Although Bucharest has repeatedly asked to participate in the huge program for reconstruction of Bosnia as compensation for the loss suffered through observing the embargo, the prospects to penetrate it are very dim. This is, first of all, because the governments that give money are interested in having their own firms also obtain the contracts. Second, even in the case of equal chances, the Romanian firms would be competing with the big companies in the world....

In any event, lifting sanctions against Yugoslavia should also have positive effects on Romania's economy, on only one condition: that first the Romanian economy itself gets moving.

Peacekeepers To Use Timisoara, Constanta Airports

AU0712130195 Bucharest EVENIMENTUL ZILEI in Romanian 4 Dec 95 p 1

[Report by Cristina Sofronie: "The Troops That Are To Be Deployed in Bosnia Will Be Allowed To Use Timisoara and Constanta Airports for Transit"]

[FBIS Translated Text] According to the offer made by the Romanian Government to the U.S. Administration, the Timisoara and Constanta airports will grant support to the troops that are to be deployed in Bosnia, Adrian Nastase, the president of the Chamber of Deputies, stated on Saturday [2 December] on his return home from the visit he had paid to Washington.

"I also held a meeting at the Pentagon with Fred Smith, the deputy defense state secretary, as well as Mr. Talbott, the deputy U.S. state secretary. These meetings gave me the opportunity to discuss with them the support we wish to grant the U.S. Administration, the Pentagon, in these operations that are still causing a great deal of argument, at the political level, in the United States," Adrian Nastase added.

As a result of his talks, at the end of January next year, a representative of the Research Center will lend a helping hand in rendering operational an on-line communication circuit between the Romanian Parliament building and a documentation center, which will ensure, by means of computer technology, the necessary information to examine and debate draft laws.

Army Officers Salaries Withheld, Ready To Strike

AU0712074295 Bucharest ROMANIA LIBERA in Romanian 29 Nov 95 p 12

[Article by Mihai Dobre: "The First Strike in the Romanian Army"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Military personnel in the "Mihai Bravu" garrison (Units 01382 and 01069) have informed us that they are prepared to start a strike today at 1000, which will be followed by a motorized march with combat weapons up to the gates of the government. The Romanian officers and noncommissioned officers are starving because they have not received their salaries for two months. They have no money to pay their rent, maintenance, or feed their children. Moreover, they have not even received the equipment as stipulated by law. After approaching the Ministry of National Defense, the minister threatened that all "unruly" cadres would be dismissed. What a strategy!

PRM Calls For Justice Minister's Dismissal

AU0612170495 Bucharest CURIERUL NATIONAL in Romanian 30 Nov 95 p 3

[Article by A. Dumitrascu: "The Greater Romania Party Calls For the Dismissal of the Justice Minister"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Corneliu Vadim Tudor, president of the Greater Romania Party [PRM], told the press that his party demands the dismissal of Justice Minister Gavril Iosif Chiuzbaian, because in his capacity as vice president of the Romanian National Unity Party, he has "grossly" violated Law 92/1992, which does not allow a justice minister to make party politics. "Consequently, he himself has annulled his quality of minister," the PRM leader said, publicly thanking the League for the Defense of Human Rights [LADO], who sent a protest to the Senate president, in which it condemns the abuse of Minister Chiuzbaian for having illegally demanded that Senator Corneliu Vadim Tudor's parliamentary immunity should be lifted. According to the law, the justice minister is also a magistrate for the duration of his mandate, and magistrates are not allowed to belong to political parties. According to the PRM president, the LADO protest is a "new confirmation of the illegal nature of a request formulated in such suspect haste" by someone who, according to Tudor, has turned from "justice minister" into a "sinister of justice."

PUNR's Gavra Demands Salagean's Expulsion

AU0612145695 Bucharest CURIERUL NATIONAL in Romanian 30 Nov 95 p 3

[Report by Victor Ciutacu: "Democracy the Romanian National Unity Party Way: If the Satu Mare Branch Does Not Vote 'As It Should,' It Will Be Abolished"]

[FBIS Translated Text]

Ioan Gavra Accuses the Greater Romania Party—PRM of "Whims"

Although he declared that the person of Viorel Salagean [senator of the Romanian National Unity Party—PUNR—from Satu Mare, recently expelled from the party's central leadership] does not interest him at all, Ioan Gavra [PUNR vice president and deputy speaker of the Chamber of Deputies] has launched a vehement attack against him. Considering him as "having been implanted in the PUNR by certain services," Gavra said that he was expecting trouble from Salagean, who "made a hullabaloo over the fact that he had not been elected to any position whatsoever." Salagean's accusations against the executive leadership of this political party were termed by Gavra as "anomalies," since they came from the "greatest nomenklatura member alive," who has been repeatedly asked to resign, having landed in the PUNR on the basis of a fabricated biography. In conclusion, the Satu Mare branch of the PUNR was told that if it did not vote as it should, namely, to expel Salagean from the party, it would be dissolved and new elections would be held "as in the southern counties."

On another issue, the deputy speaker of the Chamber of Deputies termed the rejection of the draft law to change the Penal Code as a "great shame." The PUNR deputy condemned the deputies of the National Peasant Christian Democratic Party (PNTCD), the Democratic Party (PD), and the Social Democratic Party of Romania (PSDR), who, despite the understanding reached among the leaders of the parliamentary groups, had voted against the law. Regarding the position of the Greater Romania Party (PRM) on Article 200 of the this draft law, he termed it "mere whims," because "homosexuality is not allowed." Ioan Gavra said that "without a new Penal Code, nobody will accept us in Europe."

Federal

Defense Council Approves Dayton Peace Accord

LD0612154895 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1443 GMT 6 Dec 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Belgrade, 6 Dec (Tanjug) — An expanded session of the Supreme Defense Council was held in Belgrade today.

The session was chaired by President of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia Zoran Lilic, the president of the FRY military office has announced.

In addition to the members of the Supreme Defense Council, President of the Republic of Serbia Slobodan Milosevic, and President of the Republic of Montenegro Momir Bulatovic, the session was also attended by Federal Premier Radoje Kontic; Minister for Foreign Affairs Milan Milutinovic; Federal Minister for Defense Pavle Bulatovic; Colonel General Momcilo Perisic, chief of the general staff of the Yugoslav Army, and his closest aides; and army commanders and officers of the Air Force and Anti-Aircraft Defense, the Navy, and the commanders of Yugoslav Army Corps.

The top-ranking officers of the Yugoslav Army were informed about all aspects of the Dayton peace agreement and the obligations of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia in its implementation. The participants in the meeting were informed about the decision of the Supreme Defense Council to make sure the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia would meet all its obligations stemming from the Dayton agreement.

The Supreme Defense Council discussed the mid-term development plan for the Army and defense up to the year 2000 and elements of the Yugoslav military budget for 1996. While examining elements of the military budget for 1996, and bearing in mind to the same degree the need to secure an adequate level of the Army's combat preparedness and the main guidelines of "Program 2" of the country's economic stabilization, the Supreme Defense Council concluded that in next year's federal budget the military element should account for 7 percent of the social product of the FRY in 1996. Compared to the 1995 budget the planned share of the Yugoslav Army's budget in the social product will thus be reduced by 0.5 percent.

Foreign Minister Hails Solana's NATO Appointment

LD0612191595 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1850 GMT 6 Dec 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Belgrade, Dec 6 (TANJUG) — Yugoslav Foreign Minister Milan Milutinovic has expressed conviction that by electing Javier Solana as its secretary-general, NATO would successfully accomplish its mission of implementing the peace accords for Bosnia-Herzegovina.

In a message of congratulations addressed to Solana Wednesday on behalf of the Government of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, Milutinovic pointed out this would be NATO's largest scale operation ever, and expressed conviction that NATO would carry out its mission impartially towards all sides to the recent conflict, thus making the best possible contribution to stabilizing peace in Bosnia- Herzegovina.

Solana's election comes at a time marked by great changes in international relations following the end of Cold War, which place fresh challenges and demands before the international community, Milutinovic said, adding that the election also represented a special recognition to Spain and Solana personally.

The minister also expects that the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia and NATO will continue their cooperation and dialogue.

NATO will have at its disposal 60,000 troops for the implementation of the peace accords initialled on November 21 at the Wright-Patterson Air Force Base near Dayton by Serbian President Slobodan Milosevic (on behalf of the joint delegation of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia and Bosnian Serbs), Croatian President Franjo Tudjman and Bosnian Muslim leader Alija Izetbegovic.

Visiting French MP's Want Word on Missing Pilots

LD0612222995 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 2132 GMT 6 Dec 95

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] Belgrade, 6 Dec (TANJUG) — Talks on the implementation of the Dayton agreement, an exchange of views on the continuation of the peace process in the former Yugoslavia, and an attempt to learn more about the fate of the two French pilots shot down over Bosnia during a NATO raid against the Serbs, are the main aims of the visit by the French MPs to Yugoslavia, delegation leader Francois Guillaume said this evening.

The five-member delegation of French MPs, including representatives from the governing party and the opposition, arrived in Belgrade this afternoon.

At a news conference in the French embassy, Guillaume explained that this is an official visit which has come about at the invitation of the Yugoslav parliament. [passage omitted]

Stressing France's great interest in the fate of its two pilots, Guillaume said they also want to use this opportunity to find out what has become of them.

"We have not come here to set conditions or carry out an investigation," Guillaume said. He rebuffed any speculation about the setting of any conditions.

UNHCR To Rehouse 3.5 Million Refugees

LD0512151595 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1425 GMT 5 Nov 95

["Pool" item]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Belgrade, Dec. 5 (TANJUG) — The implementation of the Dayton agreement for Bosnia is the first condition for approaching the problem of permanent accomodation of nearly 3.5 million refugees from the former Yugoslavia under a program proposed by the U.N. High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR).

The program envisages repatration, local integration and re- settling in third countries.

The first stage in the process of repatration is planned to start early next spring by the return of estimated 1.3 million displaced persons inside Bosnia.

The next phase would include the return of about 820,000 refugees from Croatia and the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia to Bosnia, while in the final stage about 700,000 people would return home from third countries.

The country of origin is bound to accept all its citizens but an inavitable part in the process of repatriation is voluntariness on the part of the refugees and safety guaranteed by the country of origin.

According to UNHCR estimates, the repatriation of refugees will last at least two years.

Local integration means that the country offering shelter will have to solve a number of problems relating to housing, education, medical care, cultural activities and other rights that all citizens are entitled to.

Judging by Croatia's ideas of integration, the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia will probably face major problems because the Serbian Commissariat for Refugees and the UNHCR estimate that most of the 420,000 refugees and 220,000 persons expelled from the Republic of Serb Krajina would decide to stay where they are at present, i.e. in Serbia and Montenegro.

Speaking about third countries at a recently closed symposium on the implementation of international law on refugees in the former Yugoslavia, Jan Bolling of the UNHCR said that most countries gave precedence to individuals and groups of asylum-seekers with whom they may have strategic plans or may benefit from in some other way.

Since the end of the Cold War, developed countries have been applying different criteria for granting asylum, imposing increasingly restrictive requirements to protect themselves from an excessive inflow of asylum-seekers and refugees.

The UNHCR last August sought that 50,000 more Bosnian refugees be accepted in third countries, which is but a drop in the ocean of need. On the other hand, however, Germany and Croatia have recently agreed to bring back home 40,000 Croats.

Most of the 700,000 people who have found refuge in about 15 West European countries during the four years of war will be forced to return to their countries of origin when conditions for that have been secured because of the growing social tension in those countries.

Official Insists FRY Sole SFRY Successor

AU0612170595 Ljubljana Radio Slovenia Network in Slovene 1430 GMT 6 Dec 95

[Report by Belgrade correspondent Matej Surc on interview with FRY Deputy Foreign Minister Radoslav Bulajic in Belgrade; date not given — recorded]

[FBIS Translated Text] The FRY is the state and legal successor of all former countries on this territory, including the disintegrated SFRY. For this reason, Belgrade will neither demand nor tolerate any other attitude by other countries on this issue, Bulajic said. He emphasized that Belgrade will not be asking for membership of the United Nations and other international organizations because, pursuant to the logic of the state continuity, the seats in international organizations belonging to the disintegrated federation automatically belong to FRY.

According to the deputy foreign minister, state continuity should be resolved separately from the problem of the division of assets, because all the republics, that is, the present countries, are entitled to the assets of the former SFRY. This problem is being resolved by the succession commission, which works within the framework of the Geneva Conference.

Bulajic says that there is a possibility that the problem of the division of assets will appear on the agenda of the London and Paris conferences. He was repeating the well known position advocated by the government in Belgrade. According to this, the countries must first determine the definition of the state assets and embark on the division of all the assets since the end of the World War II, and not, as Slovenia advocates, only divide assets that remained undivided within the 1974 Constitution.

At the end of the interview, Bulajic expressed hope that the conferences in London and Paris will bring the views of the successor states closer together and thus contribute to the normalization of relations among all the countries in this area.

Former Republics Against Recognition

LD0612125095 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1126 GMT 6 Dec 95

[By Ivan Ivanov]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] BELGRADE, December 6 (Itar-Tass) - Slovenia, Croatia, Macedonia and Bosnia-Herzegovina sent an official message to the United Nations Organization on Tuesday, demanding not to recognize rump Yugoslavia as the successor of the former Federal Republic of Yugoslavia. Slovenian Foreign Minister Zoran Thaler told journalists that the former Yugoslav republics do not want rump Yugoslavia to hold the place of former Yugoslavia at the United Nations and to be the only possessor of all its assets, which have not yet been divided between all the "heirs."

Last week the Slovenian government, the first of the governments of the republics, created after the disintegration of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, came up with a proposal on the official recognition of rump Yugoslavia. During the past several days, however, the situation has changed dramatically. This is not only because of powerful pressure exerted by Zagreb, Sarajevo, and Skopje but also because of the refusal of the Slovenian parliament to support the initiative of their government. Problems connected with the division of property of the former Yugoslavia became, most probably, a stumbling block in the way of normalizing relations between Ljubljana and Belgrade. Slovenian Minister of Finance Mitja Gaspari appealed to international financial institutions and individual countries, in whose banks the money of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia was kept, to freeze those bank accounts until the republics, which are now its heirs, settle accounts with each other. A meeting of the finance ministers of Slovenia, Croatia, Macedonia, and Bosnia-Herzegovina is planned to be held on December 7. They are going to work out a common stand with regard to the division of property of former Yugoslavia.

Although the Slovenian parliament refused to support its government and Prime Minister Janez Drnovsek in their intention to recognize rump Yugoslavia officially and to establish diplomatic relations with it, members of parliament still adopted a law by a majority of votes on the establishment of trade and economic relations with rump Yugoslavia. It says that Slovenian firms may cooperate with their Serb and Montenegro partners, but only at their own risk, while the property and financial resources of rump Yugoslavia on the territory of Slovenia will be frozen.

If the UN and international financial institutions decide to freeze the assets of the former Yugoslavia until their final division between all the former Yugoslav republics, in this case the suspension of sanctions against rump Yugoslavia by a resolution of the UN Security Council of November 22 will actually become a senseless measure. Rump Yugoslavia, weakened by the war and three years of international blockade, will not be able to import energy carriers, raw and other materials, which it needs badly. This, in its turn, will speed up the agony of its national economy.

Milutinovic, Slavonia Serbs Discuss Erdut Accord

LD0612172695 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1538 GMT 6 Dec 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Belgrade, 6 Dec (TANJUG) — Milan Milanovic, Goran Hadzic and Slavko Dokmanovic, leaders of the Srem-Baranja region, today officially informed Yugoslav Foreign Minister Milan Milutinovic and the government of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia about the negotiations they held with representatives of the Croatian Government and of the international community, and also about the Erdut agreement which was signed on 12 November 1995 by representatives of the Srem-Baranja region and the Croatian Government.

They expressed pleasure over the fact that a peace solution has been reached; gratitude was expressed to the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia for assistance and support offered over rceent years, the Federal Foreign Ministry has announced.

The signing of the basic agreement on the resolution of the problem of the Srem-Baranja region — which, to a maximum degree, protects the inalienable rights of the Serb people and the equality of all citizens in the region — makes a great contribution to the overall peace process aimed at resolving the consequences of the Yugoslav crisis, by which conditions are being created for the normalization of Yugoslav-Croatian relations.

In this context, it was stressed that the normalization of relations between the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia and the Republic of Croatia is the most important factor for stability in the Balkans.

Representatives of the Srem-Baranja region said that the normalization of relations between the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia and the Republic of Croatia will be of particular importance for the citizens of the Srem-

Baranja region as it will enable the final restoration of peace in former Yugoslavia.

Serbia

Draskovic Warns of 'Undefeated Serbian Nazism'

AU0612163895 Belgrade NASA BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 6 Dec 95 p 9

[Report by V.D.: "Peace Then Changes"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Belgrade — "The president of Serbia brought back from Dayton an agreement on peace and the suspension of sanctions. This should be welcomed regardless of the fact that at the U.S. military base it was not somebody else's war that he was ending. Nor was he getting our nation out of a prison to which it had been sent by somebody else." This was said by Vuk Draskovic, chairman of the Serbian Renewal Movement [SPO], at a news conference yesterday that was organized, it was said, by the International Press Center owing to the great interest shown by foreign correspondents.

Assessing that "a hypocritical and euphoric campaign of celebrating victory and peace" was under way, Draskovic said that "one should weep over a grave or at least be silent." When the peace agreement is signed, which is, according to him, neither just nor unjust but the only possible way out of the tragedy, Serbia will need changes with which to defeat the causes of its own downfall, the SPO leader said.

"Serbia is at a crossroads. On the one hand there are forces that want to drag it back to 1941, all under a slogan about a new era. On the other hand there is the undefeated Serbian Nazism, a very primitive and not even original Nazism. The SPO wants a third option, Serbia in Europe and Europe in Serbia," Draskovic said, stressing that Milosevic could only delay the recovery but not halt or prevent it.

In answer to correspondents' questions, Draskovic said that he did not expect elections before November or December next year and that his party would not return to the Assembly until "the decision to ban live relays from the sessions is revoked" and until the demand from the 9 March demonstrations is met on the formation of a multiparty steering committee and program council for state television.

Correspondents were interested in Draskovic's views on the future of the Serbs in Sarajevo. "I have no reason not to believe the guarantees of the great powers. I would never believe the guarantees given by Balkan tribal leaders," the SPO leader said, adding that his party had already sent an appeal to the Serbs not to leave Sarajevo and "not to follow those who are threatening to turn the city into a new Beirut."

[Box p 9]

The Yugoslav Left [JUL] Is Learning From Tudjman

Privatization has suddenly been dropped from Avramovic's [National Bank governor] program, although the governor had insisted on it until he was threatened by JUL that they would become very unpleasant if any transformation were to take place, Draskovic said, and added: "That gang of so-called private entrepreneurs and businessmen in JUL wants to prevent the fair privatization of social property so that they can use it as they please. JUL is learning from Tudjman, who allowed all the property in Croatia to be snapped up by some 300 to 400 loyal families. JUL has similar ambitions."

UNHCR's Ogata Arrives in Belgrade for Talks

AU0512211595 Paris AFP in English 2058 GMT 5 Dec 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Belgrade, Dec 5 (AFP) — UN High Commissioner for Refugees Sadako Ogata arrived in Belgrade late on Tuesday [5 December] on the third leg of her tour of the former Yugoslavia, UNHCR officials said here.

Ogata, who has already visited Bosnia-Herzegovina and Croatia, is working on a plan for the repatriation of some 2.7 million refugees and displaced people in the framework of the Dayton peace agreement.

She is due to meet on Wednesday with Serbian President Slobodan Milosevic, and then to visit a refugee camp in the Belgrade suburbs.

Earlier on Tuesday she met in Zagreb with Croatian President Franjo Tudjman.

Her plan is due to go into action once the Dayton agreement has been formally signed. The ceremony is scheduled for December 14 in Paris.

Milosevic Thanks Ogata for Help

LD0612164395 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1534 GMT 6 Dec 95

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] Belgrade, 6 Dec (Tanjug) — President of Serbia Slobodan Milosevic today received the UN High Commissioner for Refugees [UNHCR] Sadako Ogata who is visiting the FRY.

In the course of their talks most attention was paid to the problem of the refugees who have found refuge in our country's territory and the activities that are being carried out to create conditions for their material welfare and normal lives.

The fact was made that over 600,000 people, not only Serbs but other nationalities too, have fled the war-stricken areas and have come to the FRY. They have received adequate treatment as regards their material welfare, health care, schools for their children, and other forms of security necessary for free and dignified lives. The citizens of Yugoslavia and its state bodies have invested enormous efforts to achieve these aims while paying particular attention to the human aspect of this problem, particularly to providing equal treatment for refugees regardless of their national, religious, or other allegiances. In this context the role of the UNHCR was particularly stressed, whose support and material aid was indispensable in improving the living conditions of the hundreds of thousands of displaced people and refugees who have arrived in the FRY. [passage omitted]

Discuss Return of Refugees

LD0612191195 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1830 GMT 6 Dec 95

["Pool" item]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Belgrade, Dec 6 (TANJUG) — In a talk between President of the Yugoslav Republic of Serbia Slobodan Milosevic and U.N. High Commissioner for Refugees Sadako Ogata in Belgrade on Wednesday, it was said that, with the establishment of peace in the areas of Bosnia, also created should be the conditions for the expelled and refugees' unimpeded return to their homes.

The role of the UNHCR was pointed out for its indispensable support and material assistance in improving the living conditions of more than 600,000 displaced sheltered in the F.R.Y. (Federal Republic of Yugoslavia), it is stressed in an announcement by Milosevic's office.

It was indicated that the F.R.Y. citizens and state bodies had invested huge efforts in adequately accommodating the displaced, securing their basic material existence and medical care, schooling their children, and providing other forms of security necessary for free and dignified life.

In this reference, all the displaced in the F.R.Y. have been enjoying equal treatment irrespective of their national, religious or other affiliation, because, in the first place, an account has been taken of the humane aspect of this problem, the announcement pointed out.

Voiced at the talk was mutual confidence that the international community would extend the necessary material contribution to the creation of the best possible conditions for the life of the displaced and for their unimpeded return to their homes. In this domain, the UNHCR's understanding, support and direct engagement are of particular importance.

Sadako Ogata will be member of a U.N. delegation at the conference in London on December 8-9, ahead of the peace conference in Paris on December 13-14 when the Dayton agreement is expected to be signed.

To the London conference, Sadako Ogata will report on the situation of the expelled and refugees from the war-affected areas of former Yugoslavia.

Ogata Comments on Talks, Departs

AU0612212495 Paris AFP in English 2104 GMT 6 Dec 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Belgrade, Dec 6 (AFP) — UN High Commissioner for Refugees Sadako Ogata left Belgrade Wednesday [6 December] after a three-pronged visit to former Yugoslavia designed to pave the way for the gradual repatriation of millions of displaced people of conflict in the region.

Ogata, who has already discussed the repatriation programme with Croatian President Franjo Tudjman in Zagreb and his Bosnian counterpart Alija Izetbegovic in Sarajevo, held talks Wednesday with Serbian President Slobodan Milosevic.

"We have a lot of work ahead and I feel that I can count on the support of your government and people to help the people who are here," Ogata said after discussing with the Serbian leader the plan to return some 2.7 million refugees and displaced people in the framework of the Bosnia peace accords reached at Dayton, Ohio, last month.

Milosevic believes "there will be difficulties, but pragmatically, taking step by step what has been agreed in Dayton it is possible to overcome," Ogata said.

She added that the Serbian president also asked her to send her representatives everywhere "where people do not feel safe," in a reference to the Serb population of Sarajevan suburbs who fear for their future as part of a Bosnian-government controlled capital.

The UNHCR repatriation plan — a two-year process split into three phases — is due to go into action once the Dayton agreement has been formally signed. The ceremony is scheduled for December 14 in Paris.

Forcibly Mobilized Krajina Refugees To Sue State

AU0612154595 Belgrade NASA BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 6 Dec 95 p 10

[Report by Safeta Bisevac: "Fury of Forcibly Mobilized Volunteers"]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] According to the official explanation by state bodies, this summer's forcible mobilization of refugees and the "occasional" FRY citizen never happened.

All these stories were "the result of a sick imagination," probably that of a few unpatriotic minds, since "Serbia is not at war and is not violating the international law on the protection of refugees," all the authorities claimed in unison. True, some did unofficially admit that the police of the former Republic of Serb Krajina occasionally "picked up" mostly volunteers and suspicious deserters, Krajina criminals, and smugglers in the streets of Belgrade and other cities.

Among those that "do not exist" are over 20 Krajina refugees who are planning to sue Serbia for damages for the traumas that they suffered during forcible mobilization and several months on the front or imprisonment.

"I do not know whether we will get anything, but we have to alert the public to what we have been through," says Mile Djukic, a 42- year-old refugee from Udbine, who arrived in Belgrade two years ago. Djukic is one of the rare refugees who is willing to speak publicly about what he has been through under his full name and presenting his refugee papers. The others are afraid to speak, since they fear "reprisals" and some new mobilization. [passage omitted]

Weekly Suggests SPS Preparing for Elections

AU0612124295 Belgrade NIN in Serbo-Croatian 1 Dec 95 pp 16-17

[Article by Dragan Bujosevic: "Following Cicak's List"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Borisav Jovic does not lose his presence of mind just like that. On Tuesday [28 November], he told us that it was from us that he had first heard that he had been relieved of his duties at the session of the Main Committee of the Socialist Party of Serbia [SPS], wanted to know who else was on the list, said that this point was not on the agenda, said that a high fever prevented him attending the session, and said that he could not comment on the decision because he did not have any explanation....

I am now listening to the live relay of the Cukaricki-Badnjevac soccer match, and, you know, Badnjevac.... I do not have time now for conversations and interviews.... We can hear each other on Monday, Jovic told us on Wednesday.

And that was all that could be heard about the TANJUG report read on Belgrade radio at 1530 on Tuesday 28 November. It says in the fourth, fifth, and sixth paragraphs of the report entitled "SPS Congress Next March" that "the Main Committee relieved Borisav Jovic and Mihailo Markovic of their membership of it, and Milorad Vucelic of his membership in the Executive Committee. The newly elected members of the Main Committee are Nikola Sainovic and Milan Milutinovic. Zoran Lilic is elected vice president of the Main Committee" and its new members are Gorica Gajevic, Dragan Tomic (Serbian Assembly chairman), Mirko Marjanovic, Branislav Ivkovic, Nikola Sainovic, and Milan Milutinovic. "The leadership of the Provincial Organization of the Vojvodina SPS is taken over (thus replacing Radovan Pankov) by SPS Vice President Bosko Perosevic; the Belgrade SPS organization (replacing Slobodan Jovanovic) by Branislav Ivkovic, vice president of the City Committee; and the Novi Sad SPS (instead of Jovan Radic) by Jovan Babovic, Vojvodina SPS secretary."

Media Silence

This piece of news was publicized at the best possible moment: The dailies had already printed their holiday issues, two weeklies were already finished, and all the "main characters" had simply left for their home regions for the holiday or had already departed on trips (Mihailo Markovic had left for Salonika). Therefore, it was left to time to "devour" this major "blood transfusion" of the Serbian ruling party, which is itself incapable of giving a very precise explaination of the difference between itself and the state. Thus, a purge whose very extent would have caused massive curiosity and tons of comments was given the fate of a moth; it will submerged by other events even before it is reported.

The very weight of the event was demonstrated by the fact that it was precisely Slobodan Milosevic, Serbian president and the Socialists' charismatic leader, who read the list of new cadre solutions under the agenda item "Organizational and Cadre Issues," because it is he who knows better than anybody else that "every policy is cadre policy," that is, that "cadres solve everything" (Lenin), as well as that "the very point lies in cadres" (Stalin).

After all, Milosevic has not only chosen the best possible timing (given the increase in popularity in the wake of the Dayton peace accord and the above-mentioned holiday "media silence"), but has also put as the first item on the agenda of the "session of extermination" the decision on a party congress with a working title of "Serbia in the Year of 2000 — Stepping into a New Century." New times require new people, nothing is more logical than that, is it? (Moreover, "some suitable people" immediately tried to communicate to the public the following "sensation": "Last night (Tuesday evening), a new party was founded which includes Dobrica Cosic, Mihailo Markovic, Borisav Jovic, Brana Crncevic, Milorad Vucelic...." We have told the man who disclosed this "information" to us that NIN will carry it along with the remark that the Service [previous word capitalized as published] has obviously been trying to justify its existence).

Although all those "liquidated" featured on the Socialists' lists for elimination that JUL [Yugoslav United Left] member Zoran Cicak was so ready to disclose to the media and were thereby replaced, this purge caused considerable surprise: Why so suddenly, why so quickly? For it is clear that, not so long ago, Milosevic was not in such a hurry.

Slow Pace

Last February, Milosevic carried out the first big infusion and brought 21 new members into the SPS Main Committee (seven of them young and "untainted," plus Slobodan Unkovic, Dragan Tomic (Serbian Assembly chairman), Rajko Uncanin, and Milisav Milenkovic), and the SPS Executive Committee decided that SPS members can cooperate with the JUL. Without having public feelings heat up, Milosevic disregarded Mihailo Markovic's attack at the August Main Committee session; Markovic criticized the poor cadre policy, the cooperation with the JUL to the detriment of the SPS, corruption, poor information via state television, and the crisis of the national policy that has led to defeatism.

At the beginning of September, without batting an eyelid, Milosevic replaced Milorad Vucelic, his unofficial successor, from all posts. It is interesting that SPS Secretary General Milorad Minic knew nothing about this decision. It is even more interesting that the replacement of Vucelic, who is a symbol of at least five SPS interest groups (the strong party officials, the "businessmen current," the "local potentates," the JUL antagonists, and the "patriots") went without stronger party grumbling. After that, there was the silent removal of Zoran Andjelkovic-Baki, who was given the role of second deputy head of the SPS caucus in the Serbian Assembly. ("Does this mean that he is replacing me?" Baki asked a secretary at the Serbian Assembly.)

It now seems that Zivorad Minovic's [former director of the Politika Company] replacement was also entered on Milosevic's "cadre calendar," probably even without the arrest episode [Minovic was arrested by the Belgrade Secretariat of Internal Affairs on 5 October and later released]. It could serve as a good preparation for full protection against the media undermining the planned cadre changes in the SPS, which should have followed at a "slow pace." What followed, however, was the coup on the eve of the Day of the Republic that no longer exists. Why?

NIN's sources claim that Milosevic was extremely displeased by what was happening in Serbia while he was in Dayton. Allegedly, it was while he was at the Belgrade airport that Milosevic announced purges to take place "as soon as possible."

The officials replaced on Tuesday did not expect such a move, or at least pretended that they did not. In an interview granted to Radio Index, parts of which were carried by NIN, Borisav Jovic claimed that he expected no problems because of his book "Last Days of the SFRY [Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia] — Highlights From a Diary" ("and it was that book that broke the camel's back," NIN's source claims), that it does not mean he is withdrawing from politics, and that his relations with Slobodan Milosevic are "very good." In an interview for TELEGRAF, Jovic said "what hard line, what soft line (in the SPS)? This is rubbish. These things are completely invented. We are not going to break up because the press would like to write in that way."

Against JUL

About 40 minutes after it carried the report on the SPS Main Committee session, TANJUG carried a report on Slobodan Jovanovic's talks with a delegation of the Polish Social Democrats in which the now replaced head of the Belgrade Socialists said that it was difficult to endure the blockade of three and a half years, "but the moral strength emerged from the conviction that the authorities headed by President Slobodan Milosevic are carrying out a correct policy."

Jovic and Jovanovic are different cases, however, because the replacement of the former was expected a long time ago and the departure of the latter (although JUL people accused him of "hard stands") still represents a surprise.

Jovic has long had changeable relations with Milosevic. One could learn from his book that, as early as in 1990, Ante Markovic [last SFRY prime minister] was trying to recruit him, with $5 million, to from a counterparty to Milosevic. When, in an interview given to Milorad Vucelic, Milosevic admitted having surrounded himself with bad cadres and that the SPS's work was unsatisfactory, Jovic, then SPS chief, arrogantly retorted that Milosevic did not know what he was talking about.

It was rumored in the SPS circles later that Jovic would certainly "fall" at the 2d Congress held in October 1992. The main "executor," Nebojsa Covic, spoke about Borisav Jovic then, as well as about Aleksandar Bakocevic, Bogdan Trifunovic, and Rados Smiljkovic. Party rumors had it then that Jovic "survived" because his wife was ill and he boasted that he received most votes at the congress, even more than Slobo [Milosevic]. Somewhere at that time, SUEDDEUTSCHE ZEITUNG claimed that Jovic, apparently among his friends, "is thinking aloud about replacing Milosevic." The Slovene MLADINA, if it is to be believed, was also writing about Jovic being displeased by "the best man of the 20th century." And so it went on right upto the present day when Jovic, together with Vucelic and Mihailo Markovic, was considered the most fervent opponent "of the SPS' cooperation with JUL that was invariably detrimental to the ruling party."

It was certainly Academician Mihailo Markovic, however, who was at the forefront of the "opposition" to the JUL, because his polemics with Mira Markovic [JUL director and Milosevic's wife] were not published by the SPS-state controlled media or, to be more precise, his answers were not.

Party Reprimand

As for Slobodan Jovanovic, it is to be remembered that he was involved in the "power struggle" with Serbian Deputy Prime Minister Dragan Tomic in the south of Serbia from where they both came. At that time, in her "Diary" in DUGA, Mira Markovic was writing about the Simpo firm director [Tomic] with fondness, probably also remembering the belligerence of EKSPRES POLITIKA, whose editor was Jovanovic. However, there is also a completely different theory about Jovanovic. Milosevic did not lose confidence in him, but is of the opinion that it is better that some other person, a younger person who is more characteristic of Belgrade, is pitted against Zoran Djindjic and Vojislav Kostunica in the Serbian and Yugoslav capital city.

It seems that Radovan Pankov had to pay for his friendship with Vucelic, which he also showed at the government session when Milorad ceased to be the Serbian Ted Turner.

Pankov, Jovanovic, and Jovan Radic, head of Novi Sad socialists and minister for labor, health, and social issues, fared much better than Jovic, Markovic, and Vucelic as they were given only "a reprimand with a suspended dismissal." The TANJUG report does not mention their names, which already reveals a certain care for their image. Another important detail is that Pankov and Jovanovic are included in the preparatory committee for the third SPS congress (2 and 3 March 1996).

This detail also shows that the demoted Socialists cannot at all be seen as a "conspiracy cell" that was planning to overtake power, that is, to overthrow Slobodan Milosevic. It is simply the fact that nobody possessing a spot of common sense can even dare doubt Milosevic's leadership position.

Only the president may call into question somebody's role in the SPS and the state, particularly if he decides to implement a new policy with new people.

If this is the already known goal of Milosevic's settling accounts with them, however, what then does this purge of "the rascals in our ranks" serve?

The first assumption is that the president of Serbia is preparing for federal and local elections that must be held by the end of next year (the republican elections must be held by the end of 1997, but may also be held earlier). Elections were held two months after the SPS congresses in 1990 and 1992. This does not have to happen this time though (although local elections at the Belgrade Stari Grad Municipality are being announced for January 1996 as a test of the voters' disposition), but opposition parties will have to consider that possibility as well, to spend money, perhaps in vain, and to "relieve the Serbian president of pressure." At the same time, they will have to be prepared for mutual disputes and bickerings about various forms of coalition (at least three possible forms of coalition are currently being considered).

What About Minic?

The guarantee that Milosevic is getting ready for elections is seen by a NIN source in the fact that SPS Secretary General Milorad Minic has retained his post, although his departure had been expected. "Milosevic is not going to have elections without Minic," our source said.

However, if he weakens his own position considerably, if he disposes of so many "known faces" (although he does have at least 1,000 young candidates for each post and has "his" media carefully promoting every step of the "young socialists"), is not Milosevic, nevertheless, working more to the benefit of some other party? Here, above all, one thinks of the JUL, which had its Main Committee session a day before the Socialists and whose peace celebrations, which began immediately after the SPS session ended, were held at the building of the TAM Factory of Zoran Todorovic, secretary general of the left.

At least where the domestic scene is concerned, Milosevic has demonstrated the characteristics of a chess player who is contemplating all the possible moves of his opponent. It has happened twice before at Serbian elections that he did not get a sufficient majority for his socialists to be able to form a government without help from the side. There is nothing more natural for Milosevic than to seek a partner in a party headed by his wife, above all because of ideological closeness.

There is a question, however, of whether the JUL has sufficient electoral potential. It is assessed that, apart from about 1.6 million of their own votes, the Socialists need about 200,000 votes more for an unperturbed rule over Serbia. The problem with the JUL is that it has almost an identical electorate to the SPS, that the two parties are going to be "grabbing" votes one from another (General Stevan Mirkovic stated at one time that 90 percent of the members of the League of Communists-Movement for Yugoslavia voted for the SPS), and that the assumption that Ljubisa Ristic's party [JUL] will have voters among the [Yugoslav] Hungarians, Muslims, and Albanians, is still somewhat too optimistic.

This is why this entire purge may be seen as just normal preparations for the future. After all, let us here quote Borisav Jovic: "Do you understand that a party is a living organism, that some people are coming in, some are getting out, some are changing their minds, some are fighting.... We are not going to have a circus. We are carrying out politics."

Statistics Institute Reports Inflation 'Checked'

AU0512141395 Belgrade POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian 3 Dec 95 p 1

[Report by V. Jelicic: "Inflation Checked"]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] Inflation has been checked. The November retail prices in Serbia in comparison with the previous month rose by only 1.8 percent. The increase in prices can be expressed with a single-digit figure for the first time after a months-long struggle with two-digit inflation. In brief, this is a statistical report for November that was presented at a news conference yesterday by Milovan Zivkovic, director of the Federal Institute for Statistics.

True, as Mr. Zivkovic explained, the statistical report does state that the retail price index in November is 5.3 percent greater than that in October, but in practice, prices rose by only 1.8 percent. The difference of 3.5 percentage points is the consequence of the so-called block tariff for electricity brought forward from October to November. In other words, these 3.5 percentage points represent only electricity.

According to Milovan Zivkovic, the halt in price rises represents a major success and is the result of the government's pricing policy and the activities of its organs in, above all, applying the decree on antimonopolistic behavior. [passage omitted]

Report Says State Manipulating Inflation Figures

AU0612165195 Belgrade NASA BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 6 Dec 95 p 1

[Report by J. Putnikovic: "The Increase in the Price of Electricity Will End Block Tariffs"]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] Belgrade — At a meeting of the Electricity Board of Serbia on Monday afternoon [4 December], the board of management has decided to drop its earlier request to the Serbian Government to increase the price of the block tariff for consumers using over 1,000 kilowatts of electricity. Consequently, all the electricity distribution centers in Serbia have been told to calculate the December consumption of electricity in the same way as was done in November.

As a "consolation," the Electricity Board of Serbia could receive the Serbian Government's approval to increase the price of electricity after 20 December. We are talking about a 62.7-percent correction. Our sources claim that this increase was postponed because of the need to exclude it from the statistics used for calculating price rises in December. January's statistics begin on 21 December and this correction would therefore help avoid admitting inflation caused by the electricity price rise. [passage omitted]

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